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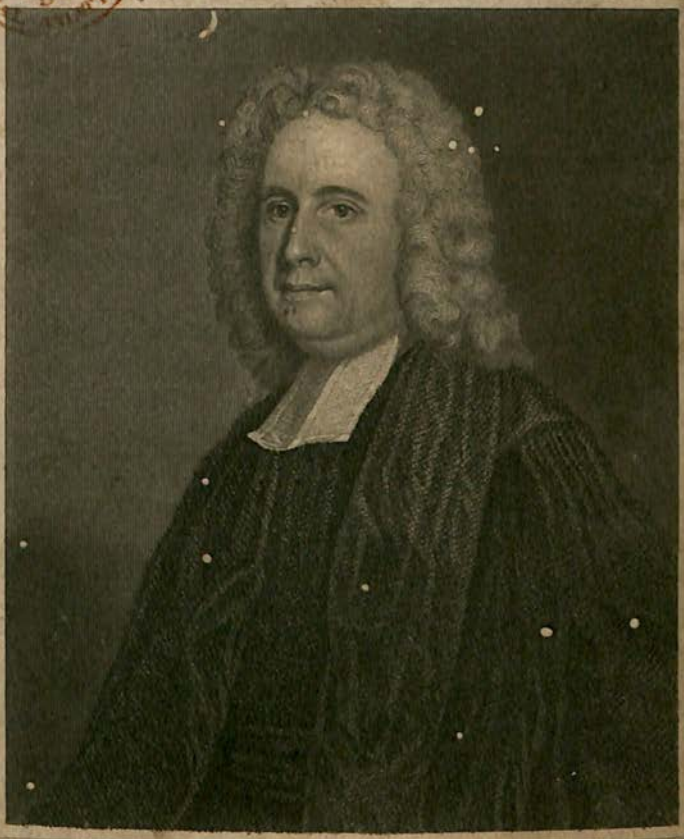

THOMAS SHARP, D.D.

Archdeacon of Northumberland,

Prebendary of Durham.

Born 1693 – Died 1758.

Published as the Act directs by C. & J. Rivington, June 1825.

THE

LIFE

OF

JOHN SHARP, D.D.

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

SELECT, ORIGINAL, AND COPIES OF ORIGINAL PAPERS,

IN THREE APPENDIXES.

COLLECTED

FROM HIS DIARY, LETTERS, AND SEVERAL OTHER AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIES, BY HIS SON,

THOMAS SHARP, D.D.

ARCHDEACON OF NORTHUMBERLAND;

PREBENDARY OF YORK, DURHAM, AND SOUTHWELL; RECTOR OF ROTHBURY.

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EDITED BY

THOMAS NEWCOME, M.A.

RECTOR OF SHENLEY, HERTS; AND VICAR OF TOTTENHAM, MIDDLESEX.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. AND J. RIVINGTON,

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AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.

1825.

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THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

MEMOIRS of the Lives of great and good men have generally met with a favourable reception in the world, partly from the acknowledged usefulness of such kind of writings, and partly from a curiosity natural to many people, which invites them to examine the actions and characters of those, who, when alive, drew the notice of the public upon them.

And as our country is intitled to its share of honour, in having produced many persons eminent in all faculties, whose memorable virtues, learning, and public labours have deserved to be transmitted to posterity; so it is some further credit to it, that justice has usually been done to their merits by the pens of their survivors, which, after the public have been deprived of their personal services, have kept their characters alive for the instruction and

improvement, as well as entertainment of those that come after them.

Some of our divines, whose piety and learning were conspicuous in the age in which they lived, have been thought in succession deserving of such posthumous respects, and have accordingly received them. Among these, Dr. JOHN SHARP was considerable in his own time, and hath as good a claim as any of his contemporaries, to be redeemed from oblivion, to be remembered with honour, and to have his portion in that sort of life which Memoirs, faithfully collected and published, are wont to give and preserve in succeeding ages.

The undertaking took its rise from a little design, the only one at first conceived, of extracting out of the Archbishop's Diary so much only as related to his spiritual or interior life; and from the belief, that a view of him in his daily and more secret acts of religion might be of use to as many as it was then designed should be intrusted with the perusal of it; and particularly that it might prove a *most instructive lesson* to the Archbishop's grandchildren, who,

it was natural to think, would receive a stronger and more effectual impression of an imitable pattern of piety, when the ideas of it were conveyed in perpetual association with those of the person and character of so near a relation. This, therefore, it was proposed, should be lodged in their hands, as a private memorial; to be preserved as an Heir Loom in the family, without thoughts of making it public.

But in the prosecution of this as yet narrow design, so many things offered themselves for the enlarging it, and making the pattern more complete, viz. the *principles* by which he conducted himself in all parts of life, the inviolable *integrity* that regulated and reigned in all he said or did, and the noble *simplicity* which shone in his whole conversation and deportment, in which respects also he seemed an example as fit to be propounded to his descendants, and with as promising an influence upon them, as in his private exercise of religion above mentioned, that these also, together with his other social virtues, found place in the scheme; and being taken in, they either

involved in them, or naturally drew after them, several facts, some of which were the most remarkable actions or passages of his life. So that in short, by an unexpected increase of materials, by the perusal of several original papers, which at first were neglected, and by the additions of one sort or other, that were made by the assistance of those friends to whom some of the executed parts of the plan were communicated, the draught advanced, and grew by degrees to the size and shape in which it now appears. Insomuch that *what was the first and sole design* is now become the last and the least part of the whole work.

If the method into which it is thrown be thought not altogether so uniform and exact, as is sometimes found in books of this kind, it ought to be remembered that the disposition and arrangement of the several parts would be best directed by the materials themselves, in subservience to the main design of the compiler, which was to put them together in such a way as would best serve towards giving a clear and just idea of the man who is described

or represented *in all the parts of his life*. This was the thing that was principally aimed at; and this end, it is hoped, is in good measure attained.

As the *diary* is the foundation and chief support of the whole undertaking, it seems necessary to give the reader a particular account of it, and to acquaint him how far it is, and how far it is not made use of.

It was begun by the Archbishop in 1691, soon after his consecration. He first drew up a short account of the most material things which had ever happened to him, till that time, which was either done upon *memory*, or was a collection and transcript of several *memorandums*, occasionally taken by himself in the course of his life. And it is from hence that the most considerable things in the *first part* of the following work are taken.

This summary account of himself, till he became Archbishop, was from thenceforward carried on with some exactness and particularity, by additions made to it *weekly*, of such things as he thought proper to keep notes of.

And in this way he continued all King William's reign. But soon after the accession of Queen Anne, when he began to have constant access to her, and more business upon his hands, especially while he resided at London, his memorandums grew more frequent and particular, and he kept, instead of the *weekly* account, *a proper diary or journal*, which, from the year 1702 to 1713 (the eleven last years of his life), makes up five volumes 4to. in *his own short hand*. By which the variety of its contents may be in some measure guessed at.

That great use has been made of it in the following work (and especially in the *third and fourth parts of it*), will be observed in a great number of particulars, which could not possibly have been remembered, or known so many years after his death, had they not been found under his own hand. But how requisite it was to use the liberty of quoting from thence with caution, will appear from the design he had in keeping such a diary, and the use he himself proposed in doing so.

Nothing is more manifest from it, than that

it was intended purely for his own private use, without the least view or thought, that any part of it should hereafter be made public. And had it not been for the two great advantages of his short-hand, viz. the secrecy and the swiftness of it, it can hardly be conceived he should have noted down such minute particulars, and so many of them as he has done.

The *principal end* that he seems to have proposed to himself in it was *a religious one*, and had respect only to the improvement of himself and the peace of his own conscience. For he is upon no one article so constantly exact and particular, as in setting down his public and private exercises of devotion; where and in what manner he performed them; and in what frame and temper of mind he was in towards God and another world. And the use that he made of his diary in this respect will appear in the fourth and last part, wherein his private religious life is considered.

Another end to which he made it serve was *ecclesiastical*. It was in this respect a kind of

register of the business dispatched by him as Archbishop. And as such it takes in the state of affairs in his diocese and province; the characters and talents of his clergy; their admissions, promotions, proceedings, difficulties, &c. And under this head several things relate to the laity too, who lived within his jurisdiction.

It is owing to the mention of these particulars in the diary, that the *second part* (where he is considered in his episcopal capacity) is so complete as it is.

As to affairs of state, and the proceedings in the Court and Parliament, he was wont punctually to put down his own share in them, so far as he took any share upon himself, but seldom more. For he doth not seem to have had the least thought of making historical collections, or treasuring up any memorandums of public transactions, in which he had no personal concern.

So that as to court politics and councils, with the issues of them; changes of administration, and practices of the ministry, with the reflections on them, and the intrigues of parties striving to supplant each other, with the success

of them, and the like points of more general concernment, *which almost engrossed the attention of the public then,* and remain subjects of speculation to this day, he made no other mention of them than what was cursory and occasional; that is, when they had some connexion or affinity with the special business in hand, of which he was making minutes. This branch of his diary, therefore, consists principally of these articles; his votes in the House of Peers upon all occasions; sometimes with the reasons of them assigned; the heads of his speeches there; his application to the Queen and her ministers, chiefly for Church preferments to be given to those of the clergy he judged the most worthy, and objections made against them whom he took to be less deserving; private petitions to the Crown, passing through his hands, with her Majesty's respective answers to them. The whole course of business that he dispatched as her almoner; with relations, here and there interspersed, of private discourses with her Majesty, rarely political, more frequently religious. The entries

he made of these several particulars, furnish the chief materials for the *third part* of this work, wherein his conduct at court and in parliament, is considered.

Another end to which he made his diary serve, was to *preserve his fidelity in his promises*; to which he was always very punctual. Wherever he engaged his word or his interest, though for the smallest favour, (and, considering his station, and particular office at court, it may be easily guessed how he was pressed with petitions and solicitations), he made his memorandum of it, and set a *particular mark of remembrance upon it.* And he generally put down the very words or manner, in which he had engaged himself by promise to any person, in which he always appears to have been extremely cautious that his words should not be interpreted to extend further than he himself really designed to perform them.

And, lastly, he would sometimes set down what he had said in conversation in mixt companies, especially when the discourse had turned upon public affairs; and sometimes what was

said to him by others on the like occasions. But these things seem rather to have slipped accidentally into his diary, than to have been designed for any particular use; for, they occur but seldom, and when they do, it is hard to say for what reasons.

Thus it is compounded of as great a variety of materials as that of the different sorts of business or actions in which he was engaged; and they lie intermixed and blended together in all that irregularity and seeming incoherence, which must be expected in an account of things, independent of each other, and yet immediately succeeding each other in order of time.

From this general description of it, it is obvious to collect what was his intention in beginning and continuing it. One thing, at least, is manifest, that it was solely calculated for his own private and particular use: and, therefore, in selecting passages from thence in subserviency to another design, and that of a public nature too, some care and discretion was to be used.

To readers no ways interested in the subject, and absolute strangers both to him and his affairs,

far the greatest part consisting of common and daily occurrences, must have appeared trifling and insignificant; and as to some other things, neither altogether unworthy of their notice, nor likely to prove unacceptable to them, there are yet *good reasons why they should not be indiscriminately produced and divulged.* Such passages, for instance, ought to be suppressed, as, if published, would bear hard upon the characters of other persons, whether now living or dead. For it was the furthest from his thoughts when he inserted any thing of this kind, either from his own observation or from the relation of others, that his authority should be vouched, or his notes made, in any wise, instrumental into conveying evil or suspicious reports. He abominated scandal, and giving of characters, as much as any man alive, and was always wont, notwithstanding his frank and undisguised temper, to speak very warily and tenderly of every thing that touched another's credit and reputation. This bane, therefore, and reproach, of all secret histories, it is hoped, is so far avoided here, that nobody shall have reason to be offended.

The rule, then, which was laid down and pursued, with respect to the choice or suppression of what the diary afforded, was this; to extract from thence no more than was apparently conducive to one or other of these ends, viz. either to the connecting some parts of this life together, and adjusting the series of his actions and writings in proper order of time; or to the clearing up and explaining the more remarkable matters of fact that occur in this account; or to the proving and confirming what is said of his sentiments and principles in politics; or to the giving him his just and true character in all parts of life, and *disproving whatever hath been falsely reported of him,* either by those who knew him not, or those who would not judge the most favourably of him, through the prejudice of party.

Thus far, it is apprehended, no exceptions ought to be taken against the use made of his private comment. For, supposing it to be never so solemnly devoted to secrecy, it may be decently and unblameably appealed to, and quoted for the establishing truth, and detecting false-

hood and mistakes, and vindicating and doing justice to him, who had the sole right and property in it. And, further than this, no man has a right to make use of the MS. Diary, whatever property he may claim in the possession of it.

It may seem, indeed, *to be a question*, how far it is honourable or respectful to his memory, not to suppress totally that part of the MS., which relates to his private devotions and communication with God, and his daily exercises and essays to improve in all piety and virtue, which he designed should be known to none but to God and his own conscience. But to this it may be said, that although to have done thus, purely to gratify the curiosity of men, or to enlarge the history, had not been so easily pardonable, yet, when it is done with a view to the real benefit of all who shall peruse it, as a probable means of making them better, the candid and serious reader will scarcely censure it as a fault. It does not imply the least diminution of those respects which are due to his character, to represent him as being, what every one would wish to be, *a sincerely religious*

and devout man. It is that part of his life and character which was most properly his own, as being the most independent of all the changes and circumstances of human affairs: and *if it is unusual* to be met with in the lives which are published of private persons, it is for this reason only, because the writers of those lives could have no ground or handle of considering their subject in this particular view, for want of such materials as are afforded in this case. Something, indeed, of this nature, is to be met with in the Life of Dr. John Forbes, an eminent and celebrated Scotch Divine, published before his works at Amsterdam, 1703. He had kept a kind of journal of his spiritual life, and of that only, for several years, which the editor of his works, Dr. John Garden, translated into Latin, and published under this title, *Johannis Forbesii a Corse Vitæ Interioris sive exercitiorum Spiritualium Commentaria.* But his pains were better laid out, in extracting out of this Commentary so much, and so much only, as was necessary to give his reader a true notion of the devotional part of Dr. Forbes's life, which he entitled *Vitæ*

Forbesianæ Interioris Idea Brevis. Now, it is in imitation of this tract of Dr. Garden's, that a sketch only, or general draught of Dr. Sharp's spiritual life, is presented to the world, formed from his diary, and supported with no more express testimonies produced from thence, than what seemed necessary to prove it genuine and true. Hereby the reader is relieved from those repetitions which are unavoidable in a journal of spiritual exercises, and likewise gains both as much satisfaction and as much benefit by a partial view, as he could have got by perusing the whole.

If it be considered into what times we are fallen, in which it is by many insinuated, that the *Christian Religion is an imposture, and the teachers of it a tribe of hypocrites*, who outwardly practise it, and labour to defend it, out of a principle of worldly interest, and not from a real sense and thorough conviction of its being what they would publicly teach it to be; it cannot be judged an improper season to bring this secret part of the Archbishop's life upon the stage. Not as if he were a singular, or even

rare instance, of the power of godliness, and of the influence and efficacy of the Christian Religion, upon the minds and hearts of those who truly believe the Gospel; (for, there are as many instances of this as there are good Christians in the world, though it seldom happens *that the same kind of evidence can be had for their being so, that is here produced in his case;*) but as a new and fresh instance of that private divine life, which is peculiar to the most exemplary men, and of the extraordinary comforts and pleasures they are wont to take, in their frequent, though secret correspondences, with Heaven. When the exterior and interior life are found to tally so exactly, they confirm and bear witness to each other, as well as to the truth and sufficiency of the religion, or institution, from whence they are derived; and are *an internal proof of the certainty, as well as an external evidence of the excellency, of the Christian Revelation.*

All that remains for the reader to be apprized of, is, that all the matters of fact which are reported in the following sheets, are either taken

from the diary, or from other evidences of equal authority with it. And as to the reflections which he will find here and there interspersed, though very sparingly, he may judge of them as he pleases: they are the compilers, and do not belong to the Archbishop.

In material points, which depend wholly on the testimony of the diary, it is for the most part expressly quoted, as will be seen in the third and fourth parts. But it is not always referred to in other matters, for which there is other collateral proof.

The several *original letters*, and copies of originals, wrote by and to the Archbishop, which are inserted at length, in different parts of the book, and the original papers, of several sorts, which are either scattered up and down in the body of the work, or collected into the appendixes, must speak for themselves. If they be thought superfluous, they may be passed over. If proper, the reader is welcome to them. There are, indeed, more of this sort, than are usually to be met with in the lives of private men, already published; but the authority and

sanction they give to the narratives would, it was thought, make a sufficient excuse for their number. And, indeed, the design of intermixing so many of his own letters, was not only to give light, but credit too, to the whole performance. They are generally brought in as testimonies to the truth of the account, either to support matters of fact, as they are here related, or to stand for specimens of his temper and spirit, as they are here described; or to vouch for his principles in Church and State, as they are here laid down. And of those letters that were wrote to him, no more is made public than what was necessary to the making what is said of himself the more authentic.

The compiler, indeed, of this work, was, in justice to the Archbishop's correspondents, very scrupulous on that article, and very sparing in embellishing his work with original letters, when he might have done it, such was his opportunity, with a liberal hand, had it been consistent with the honour and respect due to them.

In short, there is nothing of moment, through-

but the whole work, for which an authentic proof could be produced, but is backed with such testimony; which, though it may make the relation appear something more tedious, yet it will help considerably to take off the prejudice that men commonly have against works of this kind, from the supposition, that the writers of them are too much biassed, either by affection or gratitude, or both, and thereby tempted to amplify things beyond their due measure and extent, in order to make the person they would describe, appear in the greatest form and figure, and most advantageous light that is possible. When an intimate friend or near relation takes such a work in hand, although he knows, (as Bishop Burnet observes, in his preface to his Life of Bishop Bedell), *that lives must be written with the strictness of a severe historian, and not helped up with rhetoric and invention, which will incline men to suspect his partiality, and make them look upon him as an author, rather than a writer;* yet he may find it a difficult matter to prevent his overstraining some points, or tincturing others with the colours in which they appear to his own eye;

that is, he will scarce forbear shewing his own great kindness for the memory of the man whom he recommends, and will not leave him wholly to the praise of things themselves, without bestowing some good words of his own upon him. But now this defect through private esteem and friendship, if it be really such, or if the reader shall fancy he discovers it in the present undertaking, it is hoped he will consider is in great measure, if not completely supplied, by the number of *vouchers and testimonies**, that are faithfully brought to support what is advanced (especially in the more significant and material passages that occur); and the more of these there be, the more the reader is secured: nor can he greatly err in distinguishing between that

* Mr. Skinner, in his preface to "Annals of Scottish Episcopacy," observes, in reference to himself, as the son and biographer of Bishop Skinner, that no son is competent to give a fair, just, and acceptable account of *a father's life*, character, and official conduct, if he do not confine himself to written documents, which serve not only to confirm the truth of his narrative, but for the reader's correction of the filial partiality of the author.—*Editor.*

which is sufficiently supported, and that which is given him for granted.

The writer has this, however, to say, in behalf of himself, and of this attempt to draw the true character of Dr. John Sharp, that how imperfect and unfinished soever the piece may seem, the outlines and main strokes are just, being so taken from the original, as hardly to be capable of suffering by the unsteadiness of the hand that copies. And as to the disposal of the colours, and lights, and shades, in which something must be allowed to fancy, which naturally would act a kind part, there is yet this justice done throughout the whole, that nothing is either falsified or knowingly disguised.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Editor of the following work has the happiness to number amongst his friends Mrs. Andrew Boult Sharp, wife of the Rev. Andrew Boult Sharp, of Bamborough, in Northumberland, and daughter to his excellent neighbour, Mrs. Sharp, of Clare Hall, Hertfordshire.

This lady is great grand-daughter to Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York, and sole heir of both the name and blood of Sharp, niece to Dr. John Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, of William Sharp, of Fulham, the late eminent Surgeon, and of the far-known and well-known Granville Sharp, the late worthy sons of Dr. Thomas Sharp, author of "Charges on the Rubric of the Common Prayer," printed in

1753, and of this Life of his Father, now first presented to the public. To the kind permission of these friends, is owing the present publication. Having traced his title to, and the authenticity of, the MS. Life, the Editor has only to declare, that he has faithfully executed his office. He expects, indeed, that, in the opinion of some persons, he will deserve censure for having too faithfully published the whole of the MS. history, just as the author intended to give it to the public many years ago, without suppressing any portion of those passages of the Archbishop's *private life*, which his own hand alone could have recorded. It is true that scoffers and enthusiasts may make a bad use of the passages alluded to; but he has not deemed this liability to abuse a sufficient reason for withholding from the more candid and judicious reader, that ingenuous confession of private feeling and of human infirmity, which characterises the good and great of all ages, and gives to autobiography the highest charm and strongest test of truth. As to his motives for publishing the work, they are these, and none other. First

and principally, to aid the founding a Chapel of Ease at London Colney in Hertfordshire, by appropriating the profit, if any, to furthering that object of his aim and wishes; and so, the good Archbishop and the Author, "being dead," shall yet work in their vocation and wonted course,—in deeds of piety, charity, and public spirit.—Secondly, to do justice to the name of an honest man, "the noblest work of God:"—for although "the righteous are had in everlasting remembrance," far preferable to any human and mortal memorial, yet as we inscribe tombs to the dead for the sake of the living, so a book is a monument more lasting than brass, "ære perennius;" as the brazen effigies, long since stolen or strayed from chancelled tomb-stone of abbot, knight, or squire, will oftimes testify to the men of this generation.—Thirdly, to gratify, and not alone to gratify, but to edify also the reader, by imparting to him the same pleasure and profit which the Editor has himself derived from the unreserved perusal of a work, which he believes few living persons have seen in MS. besides the present Bishop of London,

the Lord Stowell, and Prince Hoare, Esq. the author of the Life of Granville Sharp.

Such were his motives for publishing the work at this time; and such the Editor offers as his excuse also for keeping in his own hands the risk and responsibility of the editorial office, from which another and abler editor might have fairly proposed and acquired to himself some personal reputation. To this he makes no pretension, having, in truth, been so interrupted in the course of his voluntary task, by several events of no ordinary occurrence in the life of a country clergyman and magistrate, and by cares of too ordinary occurrence in the bosom of most large families, as to have had neither time to add much of note or comment in order to illustrate his author, nor yet inclination to attempt to illustrate himself. But in defect of these less valuable additions, in the third Appendix, the reader will find letters of the late Granville Sharp and other eminent persons, elucidatory of the attempt to introduce the English Liturgy into the kingdom of Prussia; which object this publication may tend to pro-

vive and to promote in these more favourable times; and the English, Prussian, and Hanoverian people, who have fought as allies at "La Belle Alliance," may yet worship in more holy alliance—in the "Beauty of Holiness," and in the bond of peace."

To the same generous friends before referred to, the Editor owes the loan of many letters from which he has made this selection, and also the engraving, at their expense, of Dr. Thomas Sharp, the author, some brief notices of whom will be found among the *addenda*, extracted from "Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century." In Coles's Collections for an Athenæ Cantabrigienses, he found many references to printed works; but nothing, both new and material, such as the Editor deemed worthy of republishing, after the lapse of so long a time since this most worthy Archdeacon's decease. He has, however, given Coles's notes and references as to the Archbishop, and the Archdeacon, Dr. Thomas Sharp.—From a MS. left by the latter he has given to the public his sentiments on a

scheme submitted to him for a Protestant Convent; and, as an apt conclusion of the whole, "Monumental Inscriptions of the Family of Sharp."

Mr. Prince Hoare, page 15 of the Introductory View, in his Life of Granville Sharp, mentioning this MS. narrative of the Life of Dr. John Sharp, asserts that "whenever it shall be published, it will form an important addition to the annals of English Biography."

Shenley Parsonage,
April 9, 1825.

THE

LIFE

OF

JOHN SHARP, D.D.

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

IN FOUR PARTS.

I.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND ACTIONS, FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS CONSECRATION.

II.

HIS CHARACTER AS BISHOP, AND HIS PROCEEDINGS IN HIS DIOCESE.

III.

HIS MORE PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS IN THE AFFAIRS OF CHURCH AND STATE.

IV.

HIS SOCIAL VIRTUES, AND INTERIOR LIFE.

The Index for both Volumes will be found at the end of Vol. II.

To the Lord [illegible] of his Country
In the propagation of the Gospell

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of warr onely, but disasters vade,
Guided by faith & matchless fortitude
To peace & truth thy glorious way hast plough'd
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast reard Gods Trophies & his work pursu'd,
While Darwen stream with blood of Scots imbru'd,
And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureat wreath; yet much remains
To conquer still, peace hath her victories
No less renownd then warr, new foes & arms
Threatning to bind our souls with secular chains:
Helpe us to save free Conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves whose Gospell is their maw

Mee thought I saw my late espoused saint
brought to me like Alcestis from the grave
whom Joves great sonne to her glad husband gave
rescu'd from death by force though pale and faint.
Mine as whom wash't from spot of childbed taint
purification in the old law did save,
And such as yet once more I trust to have
full sight of her in heaven without restraint,
came vested all in white, pure as her mind:
her face was vaile, yet to my fancied sight
love, sweetness, goodness in her person shin'd
so clear, as in no face with more delight.
But O as to imbrace me she inclin'd,
I wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night

THE

LIFE

OF

ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

PART I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS CONSECRATION TO THE SEE OF YORK.

JOHN SHARP was the son of Thomas Sharp, of Bradford, in the county of York, by Dorothy, the eldest daughter of Mr. John Weddal, of Widdington, in the said county, a younger branch of the Weddal's, of Earswick, near York. Her mother was a daughter of the family of the Cutt's, of Childerly, in Cambridgeshire.

His father, Mr. Thomas Sharp, was the second or third son of the owner of an estate called Woodhouse, near Bradford, being a younger branch of the Sharp's, of Little Horton, in the same neighbourhood: among whom there had been kept up, as Mr. Thoresby says, not only a succession of Thomas and John alternately for many generations, but, what was much

more for their credit, a taste for letters and polite studies; for there were some among them who were considerable for their writings, insomuch that, he adds, it is rare to meet with so many of the learned authors so nearly allied.

He tells us likewise, that the family of the Sharp's had been very ancient in Bradfordale; but that all the writings (except some registers) by which any further knowledge of them might have been gained, were lost or destroyed at the taking of Bradford, in the civil wars.

A loss of no great consequence to the Archbishop's character: for it matters not to his character, whether his ancestors were of little figure and note in their age, or were ever so illustrious.

For though the relative honour that persons of rank derive from their house and blood is of use as well as credit to them while they live, and serves, like other civil distinctions from offices and preferments, to procure them precedency and external respects among men, yet neither their extraction nor their station, considered in themselves, contribute any thing to the real advantage of their memory. The respects that are paid by posterity (if any be thought due) arise from other considerations. No recommendation remains acceptable but what is founded on personal merit, which, in

whatever shape it appears, stands always entitled to a just regard.

Waving, therefore, any further notice of the lives and characters of his progenitors, I shall hasten to relate the great virtues and talents remarkable in him, by which he raised himself to be an ornament to that church in which he held so eminent a station afterwards, and became an honour and credit to his kindred, and the family from whence he sprang.

He was born at Bradford, on Shrove Sunday, Feb. 16, 1644, and was baptised there by Mr. Blazet, a person episcopally ordained. His sponsors were Mr. Weddall, Mr. Drake, and Mrs. Cordingly. The circumstances of those times make the mention of these particulars the more seasonable; especially, considering what was objected many years afterwards, though unjustly, to another Archbishop, his cotemporary. He took satisfaction himself in knowing, that he had been admitted into the church in this regular way. For though it was his constant opinion that baptism, administered with the proper matter and form, though by a lay hand, ought not to be repeated; yet it was always with pleasure he observed, that this happened not to be his own case, at a time when the irregular administrations of it were so frequent in all parts of the kingdom.

The first period of a man's life, which is spent in his nurture and education, though it is far from being insignificant in itself, for it is the foundation of the whole superstructure that is afterwards raised upon it; yet commonly proves a barren subject, through the scarcity of materials. But this does not lessen the curiosity of some, which extends itself to the knowledge of the earliest and most minute particulars that can with certainty be reported, concerning those who have at length proved eminent in their times. And it has, accordingly, been usual with those writers who have taken upon them to recommend the lives and actions of such men to posterity, to accommodate themselves to this taste as far as it lay in their power, by picking up and preserving all the scattered notices to be met with of what they did, and what happened to them in the first stages of life. In discharge, therefore, of this customary debt to such undertakings, and to gratify the peculiar relish of those to whom the relation of such little incidents is agreeable, and likewise to make the narrative appear something more complete, a few of the most material passages of this kind shall be selected.

His father and mother were religious, honest, and hospitable people, and beloved in their neighbourhood; but yet in a different way of

thinking from each other upon the disputes of those days. His father was not a little inclined to Puritanism, according to the temper of those times, and much favoured the parliament party; and was himself in great favour with the Lord Fairfax, who made his head-quarters at his house in Bradford, and shewed him all the kindness, and did him all the service that he could.—Among other expressions of his favour, his lordship offered him a commission, which probably he had accepted, had not his wife, who was a strenuous royalist, persuaded him, with great difficulty, not to accept it. During these turbulent times, it was her particular care to instil her own principles of loyalty to the king, and esteem for the liturgy, into her son John, who was their eldest child. She had, with some hazard of Lord Fairfax's displeasure, and notwithstanding all searches made for the common prayer-books, preserved those of her family; one of which she put early into her son's hands, and taught him to love and value it. He used to declare, that while he was yet a boy, he much admired some of the offices, and particularly the litany, with which he was much affected, as, indeed, he seemed to be all his life after; for it was read every morning in his own family, at the early prayers, as long as he lived. He judged it, as to the matter, extremely well

suited to the wants of mankind; and, as to the manner of it, exceedingly well contrived for the helping our infirmities in prayer.

But he was no less indebted to his father's piety for some happy and lasting impressions that it made upon him, than to his mother's care and instructions. If she first taught him to love the letter of the liturgy, yet it was from his father that he first admired, and became desirous of being endued with a spirit of devotion, and that by accident; for his chamber being next his father's, gave him an opportunity, (by means of some chink or aperture in the partition of the rooms, unobserved by any but himself,) of frequently seeing his father at his private prayers. His first attention to what he saw might only be the effect of a childish curiosity; but, nevertheless, there was something he noted in his father's manner of addressing himself to God in secret—something that smote his fancy so powerfully—that he was wont to say himself, that the impressions he got whilst a child, from the visible earnestness and importunacy of his father in his private devotions, were so strong upon his mind as never to be worn out afterwards.

So deep root will the actions of parents sometimes take in the minds of their children, though yet of a tender and seemingly undiscerning age. They have an early and natural

taste for what is good, as well as propensity to evil; the encouragement of which, by timely and seasonable examples, is commonly the first step in a virtuous education; for these are their best instructions, till reason calls them forth into a higher class of learning and improvement: and what examples so instructive to them, as those of their own parents, whose judgments they are wont solely to rely upon, and whose actions they are fond to imitate in every thing.

But he had also early imbibed from his father (who fell in with the prevailing principles of those times) the doctrine of Calvin about absolute and irreversible decrees of predestination and reprobation: insomuch, that he went up to the University a rigid predestinarian, and thought himself able to vindicate the hardest point of their doctrine, and to prove that absolute reprobation manifested God's glory, as it shewed his dominion over his creatures; but his tutor took some pains with him upon this head: and by putting some questions seriously to him, as whether he thought it any glory to himself to tread out the life of a poor worm? and others of the like nature, (which would lead him to reflect, that the glory of the Supreme Being could not possibly consist in any of those things which would not so much as make for the glory of finite beings,) he brought him by degrees to

change his sentiments, and put him into a better way of thinking, which, in his riper years, he constantly pursued, without any tincture or remains of the first prejudices of education.

Whilst he continued at Bradford school, his father had him instructed in writing short-hand, that he might take down in notes the preachments of those times; and he made him every Sunday, in the evening, repeat to the family from his short-hand copy, all that had been delivered that day in the congregation. It may readily be guessed what a tedious task this was. However, it was attended with an advantage which he valued ever after, viz. a perfect knowledge and command of the cypher, of which he sufficiently experienced the benefit when he became a preacher himself.

He never was at any other school than Bradford;—either his natural genius, or his industry, or both, made amends for all deficiencies of that school, and supplied the place of a more advantageous education.

It is certain that he had made such a progress in school learning, at fifteen years of age, that his father was determined to complete his education, and send him directly to the University, and to maintain him there seven years, and that not in a penurious way, which might cramp his studies, but with as liberal a hand as he

was able, considering that he had five children more to provide for out of the profits of his trade.

He was admitted of Christ's College in Cambridge, on April 26, 1660, just before the restoration of the King, under the tuition of Mr. Brooksbank, who was an acquaintance of his father's, and took no small pains in discharging the trust reposed in him. He encouraged his young pupil to resort freely to him for a solution of whatever difficulties he met with in the course of his studies; and, accordingly, when he went to lectures at night in his tutor's chamber, he constantly carried in his pocket a paper of questions, which had arisen from what he had read that day; and when the other pupils were dismissed, these matters were discussed and resolved.

Mr. Brooksbank lived to receive some recompense for the great care he took of his pupil at this time; for when Dr. Sharp was Archdeacon of Berks, he procured for his tutor, by the interest of the Lord Chancellor, the living of St. Mary's, in Reading, within his own archdeaconry: and afterwards, he would have resigned the archdeaconry itself, in hopes of obtaining the favour that Mr. Brooksbank might succeed him in that dignity; but though the bishop would not grant that request, yet he so

far complied with it, as to give Mr. Brooksbank a prebend in Salisbury.

Besides the course of studies that he went through under the direction of his tutor, he heard lectures in natural philosophy from Dr. Thomas Burnet, afterwards master of the Charter-house, but then fellow of Christ's College, who taught the Cartesian philosophy. He used indeed to lament that the study of mathematics was neglected while he was a youth; but he had naturally so clear a head, and so good a taste, that neither any prejudice in favour of the opinions of Des Cartes, nor want of a more early insight into mathematics, could afterwards prevent his studying,—admitting and admiring the new philosophy of Sir Isaac Newton, of which he used frequently to discourse, and always spoke of it with great delight, as setting forth the Creator in the most beautiful light that it was possible for us to conceive him in, with respect to external nature.

Under whose direction he studied chemistry and botany, does not now appear; but that he had, while he was at the university, taken a great deal of pains and pleasure too, in both those sciences, sufficiently appears from two books wrote with his own hand in cypher, containing transcripts of lectures, queries, and solutions, and large excerpts out of writers upon

those subjects. The larger book of botany, chemistry, and physics, was begun in the year 1665;—the lesser book was wrote before. And after both these (but at what time is uncertain) he wrote out a fair copy in round hand, of certain chemical experiments and conclusions.

Soon after he came to Cambridge, his studies were very much interrupted by a quartan ague, which stuck by him a considerable time, occasioned, as he supposed, by his rising too early in the morning, and bathing too frequently in the evening. He returned into Yorkshire for the recovery of his health, where he was severely exercised with hypocondriac melancholy; the effect, as he believed, of his distemper. But it was an effect happy enough in the main, both for himself and others; for it gave him a most perfect insight into the nature of that kind of melancholy, which, in innocent people, arises from an indisposition or ill habit of body; and enabled him afterwards, as a casuist, to treat admirably well upon that subject, and to be exceeding useful to as many as applied to him for his advice in the like cases. And, perhaps, few men had more applications of this kind than himself, which occasioned his writing a great deal upon the subject, as well in letters for private use as in set discourses, which were first delivered in the pulpit, and

published after his death, in the third volume of his sermons, which entirely consists of discourses of this sort.

He had begun from the year of his admission to take down the substance, and sometimes entire passages of such sermons as he heard preached at the University (and herein his shorthand served him to better purpose than it had formerly done at Bradford). Whenever he met with any critical explanation of scripture, or clear solution of any difficulty, or any thing remarkable or subservient to the study of theology, he was sure to book it, and preserve it by him for future examination and use.

In 1663, he began to read books in divinity, and applied himself close to the study of Dr. Lightfoot's Harmony, and Grotius upon the Gospels; the advantage of which, especially the latter, he often afterwards acknowledged. In the same year he performed all his exercise for his bachelor's degree, and commenced the winter following.

He had no college preferment till his fourth year, and then he was made scholar of the house. He never desired any thing so earnestly as he did a fellowship; but his county rendering him incapable, he could not obtain one, though the master and all the fellows (as he thought) were his friends. And, indeed, he had

demeaned himself in the college so studiously and virtuously, as to have gained their general esteem; and there is no doubt, had there been room for him, they would readily have elected him into their society. Proposals, indeed, were made to his father by one of the fellows for the obtaining a fellowship for him; but the offer was made upon such terms, as he did not think to be honest; and, therefore, how desirous soever he was of that preferment, he had the honour and courage to reject those proposals. The learned Dr. Cudworth could have brought him in, in the year 1669, and proffered to do so; but Mr. Sharp, by that time, had better views, and knew too much of the world to think of a fellowship then. It appears from hence how mistaken the account is, that is usually given of his disappointment, viz. that he had sate once or twice for a fellowship, and could not obtain the favour to be chosen.

But, however, the prospect of this little preferment (then great in his eyes) was of no small use and service to him while he had it in view; for it kept him to the hard study of the Greek authors, and especially the poets, from the time of his taking his bachelor's degree, till he commenced master, the greatest part of which time he spent in and near Cambridge: for the plague in 1665 and 1666, being at Cambridge, he, as

many others did upon that occasion, removed to the neighbouring villages; first, to Sawston, near Cambridge, where he boarded, together with Mr. Covell, of his own college; and others, who removed their pupils; and afterwards at Dullingham, near Newmarket.

He never repented the pains he had taken with the Greek poets, and indeed his head was better turned for those elegant and polite studies, than one would easily imagine, who considers him so early a disciple of the chemist and the botanist, and himself afterwards so eminent a casuist and antiquary; and yet it is certain he took great delight, not only in poetry as long as he lived, but while he was a youth in plays and romances too, and whatever was calculated to smite the fancy and move the passions. He had a happy talent of doing this himself, whenever he proposed to stir the affections, (which he thought of great use in preaching); and it may be observed in some of his sermons, how much and how successfully he hath, upon occasion, laboured this point.

There is but one thing more to be taken notice of in this preliminary account of his youth and education, which, though of little moment in itself, yet as it proved the means of his first being taken notice of, and favoured by the man who gave him his first lift into the world, should

not be here forgotten; and that was, his graceful, distinct, and proper manner of reading the lessons out of scripture, in the college chapel, while he was bachelor of arts. There was something in his way of performing this part of the service, so peculiar to himself, and so agreeable to the taste of that great divine and philosopher, Dr. Henry More, that it gained him a friend without his knowledge, and preferment without his expectation.

For having taken his master's degree in 1667, and his leave of the University, despairing of a fellowship, and being retired into Yorkshire to prosecute his studies, with less expense to his father, and there to wait the issues of God's providence;—it happened, in the mean time, that Sir Heneage Finch, then Solicitor-general, wrote to Dr. H. More to recommend to him a person who should be his domestic chaplain and tutor to his sons.

Upon this the Doctor recommended Mr. Sharp, knowing his abilities to be equal to that charge, and being pleased with such an opportunity of testifying the esteem he had for him, from the time of his observing his way of reading in the chapel.

Upon this recommendation of him, he was called out of Yorkshire into Sir Heneage Finch's family, before he had been a month with his

father; to which removal he owed his future success and advancement in the world, as appeared by the accumulation of preferments upon him within the compass of a few years.

Mr. Sharp entered into holy orders on the 12th of August, 1667, together with Mr. Leigh and Mr. Lovet, who were of the same college. He was ordained deacon and priest on the same day, in the parish church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, by virtue of a faculty from his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the hands of Dr. Fuller, then Bishop of Limerick, afterwards of Lincoln. The assisting presbyters were Dr. Outram, minister of St. Margaret's, (the same who wrote the learned book De Sacrificiis,) and Mr. White, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. Gardiner, then chaplain to the Duke of Monmouth, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. The renowned Bishop Bull had likewise received both orders in one day; and was but twenty-one years of age when he was thus ordained by Bishop Skinner. That bishop excused himself for this breach of the canons by the necessity of the times; but Dr. Fuller had something more for his justification, viz. a special dispensation from Dr. Sheldon, the archbishop of the province: which, however extraordinary, was of sufficient authority, and a satisfactory reason why the three grave and worthy

divines who assisted should, without scruple, concur in the act.

From the time of his being called into the Solicitor-general's family, who then lived in Kensington House, he spent his time there much to his satisfaction, and much to his improvement. The young gentlemen of whom he had the particular tuition were, first, Mr. John and Mr. Charles Finch: the former was a youth of extraordinary capacities and improvements, for his age; but was unhappily snatched away by the small-pox, when he was ripe for the University, in the year 1674: the other lived to be a member of All Souls College in Oxford, but died in the flower of his age. Afterwards, Mr. Edward and Mr. Henry Finch, came under his care. Both these gentlemen afterwards, to their great honour, voluntarily took upon themselves the sacred function; and both of them, to the great pleasure of their old tutor, were at length dignitaries in his Cathedral at York, where he shewed, as long as he lived, the utmost respect and kindness for them both; and in some measure, as far as was in his power, recompensed to them the many favours himself had received in and from their father's family.

During his residence with the Solicitor, what time he had to spare from his pupils, he spent in improving himself in all kinds of learning.

He yet followed, in some measure, his former studies of philosophy and chemistry.

But what he chiefly applied himself to, were such books as tended to make him an able divine; and his kind patron would not suffer him to be destitute of the necessary means; but gave him, at different times, the Polyglot Bible and Lexicons, St. Austin's and St. Chrysostom's works, Crab's Councils, and the Centuriators, and such books as it was not easy for him to purchase, or come to the use of.

In the year 1669, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, in company with several from Cambridge, who went thither to the opening of Sheldon's Theatre, when there was a great resort to that University. In this year he took a great deal of pains with the Pagan Theology; and this seems to be the time when he finished his comment upon Genesis, and that part of Exodus which precedes the giving of the Law by Moses; and also those large excerpts, or rather abridgements, of the Greek historians, which he wrote in another volume. Both are in short-hand; the comment considerably long, and particular; by which it appears, that he was tolerably skilled in the Hebrew tongue, though probably no great master of it.

At length he *pursued his studies* with such close application, and at such unseasonable hours,

that he hurt his health and constitution, and was forced *to retire into the country.* He *found his remedy in a Yorkshire journey;* which, at the same time, gave him an opportunity of taking *his last leave of his father,* who was *then declining apace, and died about a month after he left him, in the sixty-third year of his age.*

Upon his return to London, he fell upon the study of the Law of Moses, and so on with the remaining books of the Bible; upon all or most of which he hath left sufficient testimonies of the pains he took.

He had, indeed, more leisure now to pursue his studies (having yet no cure upon his hands, and being under no necessity of constant preaching) than he had afterwards, when he became a parochial minister. So that it was happy for him that he laid so good a foundation in his younger years, that he might with the more ease and readiness execute with credit the business of his calling, when the perpetual interruptions and avocations, unavoidable in a large parish (which was his lot,) would not allow him much time to himself.

This exemption from making sermons was owing to Sir Heneage, who did not require his chaplain to do that office in the family; but ordered him, as there was occasion, to read printed sermons, and, among others, some of

Bishop Andrews's. Mr. Sharp, who ever disliked playing upon words in discourses on religion, took occasion on a Christmas Day, when he was directed to read Bishop Andrews's sermon upon this text, "*Thou shalt call his name Emmanuel,*" (where there is a whimsical jingle upon the most solemn word in the sentence), to lay his emphasis in such a manner on that passage which was most offensive to him, that Sir Heneage perceived he intended to put him out of conceit with that way of writing, which that good Bishop sometimes affected. And the design was answered; for Sir Heneage never ordered those sermons to be read again in his family.

The first sermon that Sir Heneage heard of his chaplain's own composing, (and it was the first that he made,) did so please him, that he ordered one of his sons (who was afterwards Lord Guernsey and Ailesford) to go and thank him for it; and the kindness he had for him seemed to increase every day.

The first step that Sir Heneage made towards his preferment, was upon the death of Dr. Thomas Hodges, Dean of Hereford, and Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill; to whom Mr. Sharp had administered *in extremis*, and had given the absolution of the church, for which the Doctor left him *Pugeo fidei* as a legacy. This living

being vacant by his death, Sir Heneage Finch, who was now made Attorney-general, applied to Dr. Henchman, the Bishop of London, for it; but his lordship was pre-engaged for his own chaplain, Dr. William Beveridge, who succeeded in it accordingly.

But it was not long before the Attorney-general succeeded more happily in his application; and that was for the Archdeaconry of Berks, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Peter Mew, to the See of Bath and Wells, and in the disposal of the Crown. Mr. Sharp was twenty-eight years of age when this dignity was conferred upon him by the King; and it is observable, that he never had any preferment afterwards, but what he had under the seals. And though all of them were bestowed upon him without his own seeking or application, and most of them without his knowledge or particular expectation, yet this first was given him even against his inclination and will.

For when the Attorney-general told him, (after he came from the court), that the King had given him the Archdeaconry of Berkshire, he answered, that he was too young for that office, and that he knew nothing of the nature of it: whereupon the Attorney-general bid him read Lyndwood; and for his further encouragement paid all the fees of the seals for him; and

shortly after, at his first visitation, he not only lent him horses and servants, but put money in his pocket to defray the expences.

But notwithstanding these favours, he met with some difficulty and disappointment upon the first exercise of his new jurisdiction; for having held his visitation before induction, when he came to Salisbury to be inducted, the Dean refused to execute the mandate, supposing that he had acted illegally in visiting before he had complete possession; and, accordingly, he sent him back to London, *re infectâ*. But the Attorney-general befriended him again, and within a week or ten days, after good advice had been taken in London, he returned to Salisbury, and was, without further dispute, inducted upon the same mandate, which he had brought down at the first.

Towards the latter end of this year, viz. in November, 1673, Sir Heneage Finch was made Lord Keeper, in which great post he continued (as Lord Chancellor, after he was created Earl of Nottingham) near ten years: whereby he became, through the privileges of his office, a great patron. And Archdeacon Sharp's interest with his lordship (to whom he continued titular chaplain after he quitted the family till the year 1681, if not till the Lord Chancellor's death,) gave him an opportunity, and an extraordinary

one it was, for a chaplain to meet with, of making himself also a very useful friend, and, in some sense, a patron likewise, to worthy clergymen; which, no doubt, was the foundation of the universal acquaintance he had among the divines of that age, and of the unusual respect he received from them. A full and just account of this matter has been already given to the world by Mr. Nelson, in his Life of Dr. Bull, who was one of the worthy clergymen promoted by the Lord Chancellor, at the instance of Archdeacon Sharp; and, therefore, it will be sufficient to recite the passage from him, P. 278, 279, where he mentions Dr. Bull's promotion to a prebend in Gloucester:

"Among the many very commendable qualities of this great man, (the Lord Chancellor Finch) his zeal for the welfare of the Church of England was not the least conspicuous; which particularly shewed itself in the care he took in disposing of those ecclesiastical preferments which were in the gift of the seals. He judged rightly, in looking upon that privilege as a trust for the good of the Church of God, of which he was to give strict account; and, therefore, being sensible that the several duties of his great post, as first Minister of State, as Lord Chancellor, and as Speaker of the House of Lords, would not

allow his lordship time and leisure to make that inquiry which was necessary, to know the characters of such as were candidates for preferment, he devolved this particular province upon his chaplain, whose conscience he charged with an impartial scrutiny into this matter; adding withal, that he would prefer none but those who came recommended from him; and that, if he led him wrong, the blame should fall upon his own soul.

"It is true that this was a great testimony of my lord's entire confidence in the uprightness, as well as capacity of his chaplain; but the world will quickly be satisfied with what caution and judgment his lordship took his measures, when they shall know, that his then chaplain was Dr. Sharp, the present Lord Archbishop of York, who fills one of the archiepiscopal thrones of the Church of England, with that universal applause, which is due to his Grace's distinguishing merits: whose elevation hath not deprived him of his humility, but he exerciseth the same affability and courtesy towards all men, which he practised in a lower sphere; and that learning and piety, that integrity and zeal for the glory of God, which influence his Grace in the government of his diocese, and of his province, were peculiarly serviceable to the Earl of Nottingham, in the

charge his lordship laid upon him, with so much solemnity."

Thus far Mr. Nelson.

But his lordship did not so strictly keep to this rule as in no case to depart from it; for, in 1675, (while he was yet Lord Keeper) he disposed of three preferments in one year upon his own judgment, without receiving the recommendation, or taking the advice of his chaplain; and these were upon the chaplain himself. The first was a prebend of Norwich; the second was the living of St. Bartholomew's Exchange, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Bridoake to Chichester; at whose consecration, Mr. Sharp preached in Lambeth chapel *. He was instituted into this benefice by Bishop Henchman, but held it a very short time; for the rectory of St. Giles's in the Fields, (which was the third) becoming soon vacant by the death of Dr. Boreman, my Lord Keeper insisted upon his taking that. Each of these favours were accompanied with further marks of kindness; for his lordship would not suffer him to pay the seal fees for the two former; and when he gave him the last, he did it with this farther promise, that if St. Martin's in the

* April 18th, 1675.—At the consecration of Doctor Ralph Bridoake to Chichester, and Doctor William Lloyd to Llandaff; by Archbishops Sheldon and Stern, and Bishop Gunning.

Fields would be more acceptable to him, if ever it became vacant in his time, he should have it; which his lordship did accordingly offer to him afterwards in the year 1680, (when Dr. Tennison came in upon the removal of Dr. Lloyd to St. Asaph). But he would not then leave his parishioners of St. Giles's, who greatly loved and respected him, purely for the sake of a more profitable benefice.

He had, indeed, two very early opportunities of recommending himself to his parishioners at St. Giles's, and of obliging them. One was the advantage of the pulpit from the death of Dr. Boreman to the time of his own induction, which made his person and talents known to them before he came to be their minister; the other was the serviceableness of his interest with the Lord Keeper, which he shewed them the very day after he had taken possession of the church. For it happened that while he was treating his vestrymen, immediately after his induction, that the chests in the vestry were broke open, and all the communion-plate stolen, to the value of above £200; but my Lord Keeper, upon Mr. Sharp's mentioning it the next day, was pleased to order, for the use of that church, two large silver gilt flagons, and two chalices, for which he paid above an hundred pounds.

He was instituted into this rectory, January 3, 1675-6, by Dr. Henry Compton; and was the first clergyman whom his lordship gave institution to: and, notwithstanding his lordship was afterwards, in the reign of King James, a great sufferer on his account, that is, for not suspending those powers which he now granted him, yet, it may be presumed, from the respect and friendship that he shewed him upon that, and upon all other occasions, that his lordship never less regretted the admission of a clerk in his whole life; and never thought otherwise than with satisfaction, on these first fruits of his episcopal acts.

Towards the end of the spring following, Mr. Sharp married Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer, of the Palmer's, of Winthorp, in Lincolnshire; her mother was heiress of the Halton's, another ancient family. This lady was recommended to Mr. Sharp by Mr. Rawlinson (afterwards Sir William Rawlinson, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, at the Revolution,) who had married her sister. But Mrs. Mosely (for that was the present name of their mother, who had married again) having past the prime of her life in the late times, and received some taint from the Puritans, and being a particular friend and admirer of the famous Mr. Baxter, would not consent to this treaty for her daughter, till she

had consulted him. Accordingly she did: and Mr. Baxter not only consented and approved of the proposal, but such was the opinion he had of the Archdeacon, and such his esteem for him, that he told her, had he a daughter of his own to dispose of, he would not refuse her to Mr. Sharp*.

This put an end at once to all Mrs. Mosely's difficulties, and the marriage was soon concluded and solemnized at Clerkenwell Church, by Dr. Tillotson.

The first occasion of his becoming acquainted with Dr. Tillotson, who was one of his intimate friends, was this:—Not long after he came out of Yorkshire into the Solicitor's family, going to Mr. Joseph Tillotson, the Doctor's brother, a wet and dry salter, or oil drawer, in London, with a bill from his father, Sharp, who was of the same trade in Bradford, he there happened to meet with the Doctor himself; who, finding Mr. Sharp to be his countryman, and a young clergyman, setting out into the world, did, out of his usual goodness and humanity, take par-

* Mr. Baxter lived in great friendship with him for many years afterwards, and did not only frequently attend at his church at service and sermons, but at his sacraments. Mr. Baxter's reasons for his occasional conformity, may be found in his Life, published by Silvester, p. 437.

ticular notice of him, and entreat him courteously; and, having entered into some familiar conversation with him, was pleased, at parting, to give him leave, whenever he would, freely to come to his own house, and to have recourse to him as often as he thought it might be serviceable to himself. Mr. Sharp judged this a lucky interview, and thought himself blessed in so valuable an acquaintance; and ever after spoke with pleasure upon the occasion: for here commenced a friendship which lasted as long as Dr. Tillotson lived, improved perpetually by an intimate conversation for many years, and cemented by repeated returns of good offices to each other, and some of them, on either side, considerable, as will hereafter be shewn. Of all those good offices which Dr. Tillotson did for him, that which he now performed in the ceremony of giving him a companion for life, proved in the event most acceptable; as it was the greatest worldly blessing that Providence ever bestowed upon him, and contributed more to his ease and comfort than any of the great preferments he afterwards attained to; for there could not be a more happy couple than he and his lady were: nor could any woman be better qualified than she was to answer his purpose, or scheme of domestic economy, in a married state, which was, *to commit his purse*, as

well as the conduct of his household affairs, wholly to the care and management of his wife. And, accordingly, on the day of his marriage, he gave her his money, bidding her to be a good steward with it, and with what she should for the future receive for him, for he would have as *little concern with it himself as possible*, so long as she lived; and he was as good as his word, as there may be further occasion to shew hereafter.

Upon this change of his condition, he quitted his patron's family, where he had lived eight years and a half, and removed with his wife to Mr. Rawlinson (his brother by this alliance, as lately mentioned,) in Chancery-lane, with whom he dwelt four years, intent upon the affairs of his parish, and such studies as concerned his office and duty in it, and more especially the preaching part, which he had (as was before observed) much neglected, till he became a constant preacher.

However, it was not long before his great abilities this way were more publicly known. The two first sermons that he printed were preached before the Lord Mayor; the third, before the House of Commons, on April 11, 1679; but that which most tended to advance his character in the pulpit, was his taking the Friday lecture at St. Lawrence's Jury (which he did in

the year aforesaid, March 28, 1679,) where there was, not so much a concourse of people as a convention of divines, especially those of the city, who had customarily attended those lectures, from the time that Dr. Tillotson, who was the Tuesday lecturer, had so successfully led the way in reforming the method and stile of composures for the pulpit. Mr. Sharp, whether he thought himself too young for this service, and unequal to it, or whether he imagined it would encroach too much upon his time, and necessary attendance on his parish, or whatever was his reason, was very unwilling to undertake it; but at the earnest request of Dr. Ben. Whichcot, (who was Vicar of St. Lawrence's) he was at length prevailed upon to hold the lecture as long as that doctor lived, but he would hold it no longer; and, accordingly, when Dr. Whichcot dropt, he quitted it.

Being this same year of doctor's standing in the University, he thought the taking his degree was a debt that he owed to his character and preferments in the church; being a dignitary, as well as minister, of one of the largest parishes in town. Whereupon he went down to Cambridge, and was admitted by Dr. Turner, the Vice Chancellor; and in July, was created Doctor in Divinity by proxy, "*Domino Doctore Beveridgio stante in Comitiis in ejus Vice.*"

The next year, 1680, he published three sermons more; one entitled, "*The doing Good in our Lives*," that it is every Man's great Concernment, and in every Man's Power; preached at the Yorkshire Feast, February 17th. Another, entitled, "*The Rich Man's Duty*;" preached at the Spittal, April 14th following. (These two he published together, for reasons given in their respective dedications. 9. Vid.) The third, was that excellent discourse which he preached at the election of a Lord Mayor, on September 29th, entitled, "*A Description of the Upright Man, and his Security in Evil Times.*"

This year also, he left his brother Rawlinson, and took a house for himself in Great Russel-street, nearer his own church: where he continued to the time of his leaving the parish.

And here, it may not be improper to consider him, in his labours as a Parochial Minister.

The sixteen years that he continued Rector of St. Giles's, were the prime of his life. He was not quite thirty-one years of age at his induction. At forty his parts were at the height, and his head more bright, and his spirits more vigorous, (as he himself thought), than in any other part of his life; and, indeed, he had sufficient occasion both for a ready and able understanding, and a sound and clean constitution.

For he was frequently obliged to spend the greatest part of the night (especially Saturday nights) in his study: not that he purposely chose those hours to be free from noise and disturbance, or secure from interruptions of company and business, (for such late studying no ways suited with his inclinations,) but because he frequently had no other time to answer the constant demands of his pulpit. And now it was, and chiefly in those midnight hours, which he borrowed from his rest, that he composed most of those discourses, which afterwards, with a little revisal and finishing, he made use of to his dying day.

No character can be given of his preaching, more just or excellent than that which he himself, though very modestly, as well as seriously, hath given of it, in his Farewell Sermon, where he tells his flock, that although he could not say he had done his duty as he ought, (and he heartily begged of God to forgive him all his defects,) yet he had this satisfaction, that, in all his preaching, he had sincerely endeavoured to instruct them in the true doctrine of the Gospel, and to teach them the right way that leads to salvation; and that he was so certain that he had neither been mistaken himself, nor misled them in that matter, that he durst with confidence address himself to them in the words of

the Apostle: "Those things which you have learned, and received, and heard of me, do; and the God of Peace shall be with you."

And if he could thus answer and engage for the truth and soundness of his doctrines, there are enough, even as many as heard him, or have read his discourses, who, though less capable of answering for the matter of them, will yet give testimony to his good manner of preaching. His great excellency lay in representing the truths of religion, with such plainness and unaffected simplicity, as was, at the same time, very persuasive and affecting. Even when he undertook to treat the more nice and uncommon subjects, his management of them was admirably well adapted to common apprehension. The arguments he used were always pertinent and clear, and the stile in which he delivered those arguments easy and familiar, as well as just and correct *. So that few writers will be found to equal, and none to surpass him, in perspicuity and propriety of expression.

He studied, as much as any man, to move and warm the passions, and he did it in so happy a way, that is, with so little appearance of design,

* Vide Dr. Felton's Character of Archbishop Sharp's Sermons, in his Dissertation upon reading the Classics: wherein he proposes them as a model for the forming a just stile.

that it is hard to know whether the success he had in influencing the affections, be the effect of his art in the arrangement of his matter, and force of his expressions; or whether his arguments make their own address to the passions, without being beholden to his skill and conduct, for any adventitious recommendation. He had withal an unusual pathos in his delivery, wonderfully instrumental in exciting and preserving attention, and captivating the mind. He had naturally no ear for music; and yet there was something very engaging and harmonious in his elocution, owing to the regularity and justness of his cadences, and the happy accommodation of the tone of his voice to the subject matter of which he was speaking, together with an observance of swift or slow measures of utterance, as best suited the *texture* of his expressions, or best served to enliven the sentiments he intended to convey: so that, indeed, those discourses which are published to the world, are only, as it were, the dead letter, in comparison of what they appeared under the persuasive power of his delivery, and want that quickening spirit that gave such life and inimitable beauty to them in the mouth of their author. In short, the advantages he gave to his own performances were so remarkable, that it was his distinguishing character among the London Divines, to

excel in the pathetical way, as is acknowledged even by some who will give no other recommendation of him as a preacher.

The learned Bishop Burnet, for instance, who was never thought partial to him on the favourable side, gives this account of him in his History of his Own Times, Vol. I. p. 674. "*He was* (says his lordship) *both a very pious man and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his Sermons with much life and zeal.*

This character is, indeed, so far as it goes, a very just and true one; and, when well considered, a great one too. For it is agreed by all who have wrote upon the eloquence of the pulpit, that one of the first requisites to the making a good preacher, is that he himself be a devout and good man, deeply and seriously affected with a sense of those things which he would inculcate, and impress upon the minds and affections of others. *He who hath no other end or view, either in composing or delivering his discourses, than the making people better, and more disposed to their duty, cannot well be otherwise than an able preacher, and must have ill luck if he be not a popoular one too;* for he will certainly, under this disposition, take more with his audience than another of superior talents and capacities can do, who happens to be guided

by any less worthy aims. That Dr. Sharp was so popular a preacher, was no doubt principally to be ascribed to the piety of the man, to which he owed, in great measure, (what his lordship stiles a peculiar talent, viz.) the *reading* of his Sermons with life and zeal. For it was impossible for him to speak of the things that concerned God or Religion without being affected himself, and without endeavouring, as far as his natural powers would enable him, to affect others also.

It may seem, indeed, to them who knew Bishop Burnet's faculty of preaching *extempore*, wherein he undoubtedly excelled, as if he mentioned Dr. Sharp's reading his Sermons as no part of his laudable character; and, surely, it was very natural for his lordship, who was conscious of his own readiness upon all occasions, and very reasonable to allow him who had been bred up in this extemporary way, to be of opinion, that it was no commendable thing for a man to *read* a precomposed form, though ever so peculiarly well. But yet, others are more at liberty, and it may be, rather inclined to think differently; as they have been used to discourses, *penned with care and meditation*, and have observed it to be the choice, and almost universal practice of the English Divines, of that and the present age, who have been thought as

able preachers as any in the Christian Church, since the primitive times. And such will be ready to own, that it is no small attainment even *to read a sermon well;* and that it is worth a man's while and pains, to endeavour after it; especially considering, that there are not many who arrive at any perfection in doing so. And for this reason, several of our eminent Prelates have given this in charge to their clergy, that they study propriety of elocution, and endeavour after a decent and ornamental way of delivering their discourses; judging very rightly, that not only the character of the preacher, but even the success of his labours depend, in too great a measure, upon this seemingly inconsiderable point.

As to Dr. Sharp, they who knew his way of talking, especially upon divine subjects (which were often in his mouth,) with so much fluency, piety, gravity, and every ornament that is proper for discourses of that nature, can hardly think otherwise than that he must have acquitted himself in the pulpit, even in the extemporary way, as well as most men, had he made the trial, or thought fit to have pursued such a method. But it was utterly *against his principle*, and contrary to his idea of useful preaching, especially in populous assemblies, and mixed congregations, as are usual in the London

churches, to venture upon a work of so great moment, without having *prepared the diction as well as the matter*. He never thought he could take too great precautions, or too much pains, in composing his sermons, (some of which he corrected and transcribed more than once). He was careful and exact in the choice of his words, and used to say, that the point which put him most upon consideration in the making his sermons, was oftentimes *how to make things plain enough*, that is, to find out phrases suited and levelled to the capacities of the vulgar, and yet *not vulgar enough themselves to offend* the politest taste. He was not at a loss for words significant and proper enough to express his sentiments, (and which came from him with as much ease and readiness as from any man living,) but he wanted to be understood by every body, even his meanest auditors, at the first hearing, and to effect this, too, without using low and creeping similies, rustic phrases, or tedious repetitions, or, if possible, without impairing either the force of his argument or the beauty of his stile. And whosoever can compass thus much, without weighing and adjusting his expressions beforehand, as well as his sentiments, has indeed a peculiar talent, and such as Dr. Sharp never pretended to.

When it fell in Dr. Burnet's way to reprehend the loose, extempore, though popular way of preaching among the Friars, before the Reformation, and to give the reason why the Reformers fell afterwards into the practice of writing and reading their sermons, he thought it not improper either to mention the inconveniences of the former practice, or to bestow a good word or two upon the benefit of the change. He says, "That those who were licensed to preach (viz. among the first Reformers, who *preached without notes,)* being often accused for their sermons, and complaints being made to the King by hot men on both sides, they *generally came to write and read their sermons.*

"*From thence the reading of sermons grew into practice in this church;* in which, if there was not that heat and fire which the Friars had shewed in their declamations, so that the passions of the hearers were not so much wrought on by it, yet it hath produced the greatest treasure of weighty, grave, and solid sermons, that ever the Church of God had; which does in great measure compensate that seeming flatness, to vulgar ears, that is in the delivery of them."—*Hist. Reform.* V. I. p. 317.

The seeming flatness to vulgar ears, which the Doctor here mentions as the sole imperfec-

tion of delivering sermons from prepared notes, is a consideration that doth indeed concern all those who can suffer themselves to be careless, and to appear indifferent in the delivery of their discourses: but as there can be no room on ground for this complaint in any who have the talent of *reading their sermons with much life and zeal*, so Dr. Sharp stood clear of it, and consequently of all the exceptions that have been commonly made against this modern way of preaching.

It must be confessed, indeed, that his art of short-hand contributed not a little to the acceptableness of his delivery; for he so disposed his characters as to take in a whole sentence, or as much as could be distinctly pronounced in the same breath, with one transient glance of the eye, and so disposed those sentences distinctly under each other, as to be able, when he had taken off his eye, without any difficulty, to recover the place where it had left the page; and so expert was he at this, that he has been sometimes *thought to have preached by heart*, or to make little or no use of his notes, which gave him all the outward advantages of extemporary preaching, without subjecting himself or his audience to any of its disadvantages. For hereby he was at liberty to execute whatever is usually thought graceful, and ornamental in

the pulpit, either with respect to the mien, posture, or movements; which advantage is in great measure lost to any *person who is bound perpetually to attend to his notes;* and which is not often found well improved by any person who has his matter to consider of rather than his manner, and is bound to watch more over his words than his behaviour, and who, through the entire disuse of notes, wants even those seasonable restraints which they would give to redundancy of action, and, perhaps, in some cases, to extravagances of gesture.

So that, upon the whole, Dr. Sharp may be said to have appeared equal, if not superior, to an extempore man, in the agreeableness of his way in delivering himself; besides his having the benefit and security of well-digested and premeditated discourses, fit to be read and criticised upon in private, as well as to pass the transient judgment of the world in public.

It may be added to his being a good preacher, that he was likewise a constant one. For several years he preached twice every Sunday in his own parish, besides his lecture in the city, and other occasional courses that he supplied in the week days.

He had also a *very solemn way of reading the Church Service,* and did great justice to the

admirable form of prayer in the established Liturgy. They who have taken up unreasonable, and yet invincible prejudices, against all set forms of public worship, will suppose it a very small attainment for a man to learn his paces in the same perpetual round or circle, and may think it of no moment what manner is used in offering up (what, in their opinion, may be little better than) the dull repetitions of dry addresses to God Almighty. But they who have more thoroughly considered the thing, do acknowledge, that it is *neither so easy a matter to read prayers well,* nor *of small consequence whether the offices be performed with devotion and solemnity or no.* Too many complaints have been made against the clergy upon this head, and some of them, without doubt, very unjustly; it not being in every man's power, how pious soever he be in disposition, to read the common prayers to the general satisfaction of others. But this is to be said for Dr. Sharp, that the Church Service in his hands, was executed to every body's taste; and the common petitions, where they were put up by him to the Throne of Grace, were so far from being liable to the imputation of dull performances, that they always affected his audience, though they did not seem always new. How far his happiness in these exercises was a natural gift

in him, or how far it was an acquired perfection, is not easy to determine; but which of them soever it was, he never displayed it more than in the celebration of the holy mysteries. So distinct, nervous, devout, and indeed seraphic, was his elocution on those occasions, that he not only disposed the congregation present to seriousness and reverence, but inspired them with some degrees of that *devotion, life, and comfort* which he expressed himself.

In a word, if he ever distinguished himself in a more extraordinary manner under the character of a Christian Priest,—if he ever did justice to his function, or the Liturgic offices, it was then when he stood before the altar.

There are two points more, not to be forgotten, under the consideration of him as a Parochial Minister; and those are, his care and diligence in discharging two very material branches of his function, viz. *catechising of youth*, and *visiting the sick*.

As to the former, he well knew the great usefulness and expediency of laying a good foundation of religion, by seasoning the mind early with a sense of piety and duty, and furnishing or pre-occupying it with good notions and principles. It was one of his sayings, (and one that he used to direct particularly to his clergy after he became Bishop,) that, although he would

make no comparisons between the Magistrate's office and the Minister's, nor take upon him to determine which of them gave the better opportunities of reforming mankind, and promoting true virtue and goodness; yet this he would say, without offence, that unless men's minds were informed and imbued with serious and good notions, which was the Minister's province, as well as their actions regulated by the laws, which belonged to the Magistrate to take care of, *there could be no true reformation.*

And no man could be better qualified than himself for the office of catechising; for he had not only a faculty of making such things as are not obvious and easy to be understood without explanation, clear and familiar to the slenderest capacities, but he *had also a very kind, warm way of talking upon such matters;* which prevailed much towards engaging the attention, as well as informing the understandings of his catechumens. His lectures on these occasions were *extempore,* save that he always had a little paper of memorandums, or heads of discourse, that he might proceed in order, and not omit any thing that he judged material for their information.

And, as to *visiting the sick,* and *administering the sacrament in private,* though he had sufficient curates, (able men and ably provided for,)

yet he bore his share of duty with them, even among the poor *in the garrets and the cellars*; and would never refuse his attendance when particularly sent for, though his compliance *herein put him sometimes in hazard of his life*. He never had the small-pox, yet being brought in to persons under that distemper, he hath not through fear or surprize desisted from doing his office; and as he had the general character, not only of a pious man, but a good casuist, he had sometimes more business of this kind upon his hand, than what arose immediately from his own parish. And once, when he was called out by two unknown gentlemen, to an unknown place, on pretence of visiting their dying friend, and not without suspicions of some treacherous design upon himself, (for it was at a particular time in King James's reign, when he had grounds for such a distrust,) nevertheless, he ventured with them, only taking with him the guard of a servant, which was not usual with him, and ordering him to stand in the street before the house whither he was carried, and not to stir from thence upon any account whatsoever, till he saw him out of the house again. This, indeed, was Mrs. Sharp's advice and precaution. And it had this effect, that when the design of the servant's attendance in the street was observed, by his utterly refusing to enter the

house, the Doctor, after waiting some time, was told that the stranger patient was then taking rest, and could not conveniently be disturbed. And so he was dismissed, and never heard afterwards either of the patient or his friends.

He gave it in charge to his two curates, in their course of visiting the sick, *never to take gratuities from ordinary tradesmen*, or any of the *inferior sort of people*; and that they might be the less tempted to complain of this injunction, he not only set off to them for their allowance, such fees of his parish, (as raised their stipend in some years to six score pounds each), but he declined, as much as he could, the performing, in his own person, all those offices where extraordinary perquisites or presents were to be of course expected, that his curates might receive the benefit of his people's generosity.

Amidst the variety of business that he went through, and frequent avocations from home while he lived upon his cure, he took no kind of diversion, unless the study of coins and medals may be called so*. For of these he was

* Coins and medals were his amusement and delight for several years after he was Archbishop. When he so improved and enlarged his collection, that at length it was inferior to few in England, especially in regard of the Saxon and English coins. He likewise wrote and left a large MS.

fond, and begun a collection very early, which, in progress of time, came to be large and curious. But his chief recreation and relief from his more necessary employments, and serious studies, was the conversation of learned and ingenious men; and for this he was happily situated; the town then affording him a set of acquaintance not only very knowing and judicious, but also very communicative; in whose agreeable and improving company, he spent his vacant and leisure hours. The chief of these were those celebrated London divines, who were the ornaments of that age; as Dr. Stillingfleet, Patrick, Beveridge, Cradock, Whichcot, Calamy, Scot, Sherlock, Wake, and Cave; and above all, his dear and fast friends, Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Claggett, with whom he enjoyed a more intimate conversation. They had frequent stated meetings and conferences at each other's houses (for it was a rule with Dr. Sharp, and probably with the rest too, not to frequent taverns, or places of public resort and entertainment,) at which they proposed such points of discourse, as they were desirous to have each other's judgement and opinion upon; and chiefly such subjects as pertained to their

account of them, in which some treatises respecting the English coins, and their proper marks of difference, have been thought, by good judges, very accurate and valuable.

own profession, or such passages of Scripture, as any of them purposed to treat of in the pulpit; which being freely talked over, and with a friendly unreservedness, contributed not a little to the clearing up their difficulties and resolving their doubts, unfolding and ranging their thoughts, directing and regulating the disposition of their matter, and, in short, to the making them sooner masters of their respective subjects, than they could have been by building, though never so industriously, on their own foundations, and pursuing their private searches and inquiries, though never so closely and attentively. And no doubt but it was much owing to the happy harmony that was between these great men *, and to their free communications with each other, that the Socinian and Popish controversies, and the debates about Nonconformity and Schism, were so excellently handled in those times, as well in their sermons

* Bishop Burnet bears his testimony to the characters of the Divines abovementioned, and some others, who, he says, "were worthy and eminent men among the Clergy, whose lives and labours did, in great measure, rescue the Church from those reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it; as Tennison, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Calamy, Claggett, Fowler, Cudworth, Williams, and others who deserved a high character, and were indeed an honour to the Church, and to the age in which they lived."

as in their other writings, which will remain lasting monuments of their great talents.

But it is time now to return to the thread of the narrative, which was broken off at Dr. Sharp's settlement in his house in Russel-street, in the year 1680. In the year following, 1681, his Majesty, King Charles, was pleased to bestow a mark of his royal favour upon him, viz. the Deanery of Norwich, vacant by the death of Dr. Astley. This preferment was obtained for him at the intercession of the Duke of York, and the Lord Arlington, and his patron the Lord Chancellor, who may be presumed to have been his principal friend upon this occasion.

This Deanery was the more acceptable to him because he had been a member of that church above six years, and was acquainted with the constitution and affairs of that body; nevertheless, that he might inform himself completely of every thing that was requisite to make him a *good governor*, he spent a great part of the following year, 1682, in looking over the ledger-books, and making himself master of the state of their revenues, and the extent of his own rights and privileges. His recesses, likewise, from London, which were now longer and more frequent than heretofore, were beneficial to him, as well as agreeable. For he not only had opportunity of studying more at leisure, and more

to his own satisfaction, than he could in town; but of recruiting his health and relieving himself from the fatigues of his parochial cure;—and, (what was still of more consequence to him) of improving in his spiritual life, through the advantages of retirement and disengagement from company and business, which Norwich afforded him; a remarkable instance of which blessing, (for so he esteemed it) shall be given in its proper place.

Towards the latter end of this year, 1682, died his friend, Sir John Finch; and within a month after him, viz. December 18, died his beloved lord and patron, the Earl of Nottingham: each of them leaving him legacies, as tokens of their esteem and friendship for him.

In the following year, 1683, he wrote his first book about Conscience, at the desire of the Bishop of London. To understand the reason why this province was particularly assigned him, it will be proper to look back to the head of a dispute with the Dissenters, about Conformity, which he himself had undesignedly opened near ten years before.

He had in the year 1674, while he was yet Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, and before he had any other preferment besides his Archdeaconry, preached before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall Chapel, upon the subject of the

Dissenters separation from the Established Church, which his lordship desired might be printed; and so it was; and is now the first sermon in his Collection. *In this discourse,* he shewed a great deal of sound reasoning, and a great deal of temper too, more than men at their first setting out into the world, and especially at his age, are usually masters of. He undertook in it the proof of the following propositions.

I. That every Christian, upon the very account of his being so, is a member of the Church of Christ, and is bound to join in external communion where it can be had.

II. That every one is bound to join in communion with the Established National Church to which he belongs, supposing there be nothing in the terms of its communion that renders it unlawful for him to do so.

III. That the being a member of any Church, doth oblige a man to submit to all the laws and constitutions of that Church.

IV. That we can have no just cause of withdrawing our communion from the Church whereof we are members, but when we cannot communicate with it without the commission of a sin.

V. That though we have a just cause to refuse communion with the Church whereof we

are members, in some instances; yet we are not therefore to proceed to so total a separation from it, as to erect new Churches in contradistinction to it, or to join with those that do. This is never to be done unless a Church be so corrupted in doctrine and practice, that the salvation of all who communicate with her, is thereby endangered.

To these propositions, he spoke short and clearly; and then proceeded to consider the several ways of preserving peace and charity with our Dissenting brethren. And very excellent rules he laid down for this purpose, but not having room within the compass of a sermon to go through his subject, he concluded with laying down such further heads of discourse, as he either had, or at least designed to have prosecuted, in order to complete his arguments. But as it was ordered to be printed in so unfinished a way, and it being the first sermon he sent to the press, he wrote a dedication in the first edition of it, to Sir William Hooker, and the Court of Aldermen, apologizing for this imperfection, in these words.

"Right Honourable.—The following Discourse was never designed to go further than your own chapel, otherwise it had not been left so imperfect; but since you have thought fit to

order it should be made public, it would ill become me, who do in it so earnestly press obedience to superiors, to dispute your commands. Such therefore as it is, I humbly present it to you; heartily wishing it may, in some degree, minister to the promoting peace and unity, and brotherly love among us, which is the only thing therein aimed at, by, Right Honourable,

Your most humble, and
most obedient servant,
J. SHARP."

But this sermon had not been long in print before it was attacked by an anonymous writer (supposed to be Mr. Wadsworth) who undertook to answer it. However, Mr. Sharp had this benefit from his mild and inoffensive way of managing the subject, that his adversary treated him with better temper, and in a gentler strain than is usual with men of that persuasion; as is remarked by the great Mr. Dodwell who undertook the defence of Mr. Sharp's discourse. For "the occasion of Mr. Dodwell's writing his book of Schism," to use the words of the learned author of Mr. Dodwell's Life, "was his being engaged in defence of an excellent sermon on Rom. xiv. 19, preached before the Lord Mayor, by the Rev. Mr. John Sharp, who was afterwards (in the judgment of all impartial persons

deservedly) placed in one of the highest dignities of our church. This," says he, "produced that elaborate book, entitled, Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government, as practised by the present Nonconformists, proved Schismatical."

Indeed, Mr. Dodwell confesses as much in his preface to his book of Schism, where he says, that "it was at first designed as a defence of that sermon, but having made some entrance upon it, he did not think it so convenient to be confined to another's method in delivering his own sentiments, nor to concern any particular author in the controversy; but rather to undertake the whole subject in a method most natural to his own conceptions of it. And the rather so, because most of the answerer's objections would have no place on his way of stating the controversy; and he could not think it worth his while to spend time on such things as were grounded on misunderstandings. But," says he, "I speak not this with the least design of disparaging the performance of the adversary, for the misunderstandings are no other than such as are common to him with the generality of the dissenting party."

And from hence we have a very good account how it came to pass that Mr. Sharp never replied to Mr. Wadsworth, or whomsoever it was

that undertook to answer his sermon. For he not only was acquainted with Mr. Dodwell's design, but it was agreed and concerted between them, that Mr. Dodwell's work should stand for an answer to the answerer of the sermon, though thrown, by him, into a new and more natural method to himself. For thus he writes in the preface abovementioned, "However, these considerations being approved by several of my worthy friends to whom I communicated them, and among others by the author of that excellent sermon, I easily obtained his leave to proceed in my own way. Yet I thought it convenient withal to give this warning of it, that the answerer, whoever he be, may know that his objections have been allowed for in my hypothesis, though they be not expressly mentioned; and that he may not look on the silence of his adversary as an argument of any neglect of him."

This seems to be the true state of the case; and not that Mr. Sharp employed Mr. Dodwell to undertake the dispute for him; as Mr. Brokesby, the author of Mr. Dodwell's Life, intimates in another place, where he says, "that Mr. D. wrote his book of Schism at the request of the late excellent Archbishop of York."

But it seems rather to have been Mr. Dodwell's own choice and motion; only as he was engaged in that subject, it was proper for him

to consult the man who had started it, and take his advice, and obtain his consent, as to any new method in which he proposed to handle it.

However, this book of Mr. Dodwell's was wrote against by Mr. Baxter in his True and only Way of Concord. Which drew a reply from Mr. Dodwell, published in 1681, where he shewed how little that chapter in Mr. Baxter's book which concerned himself, deserved to be called, (what it was entitled,) a *Confutation of* his book of Schism.

The controversy having proceeded thus far, Dr. Sharp at length (Anno 1683,) at the special request of the Bishop, put his hand to it, and gave it a finishing stroke. He did not set his name to his work, nor take any express notice of any thing that had been said for or against his sermon, in 1674.; but, as if he were wholly disengaged from any concern in that dispute, he considered the dissenter's plea of conscience as a casuist, and entitled his book, "*A Discourse concerning Conscience,*" wherein an account is given of the nature, rule, and obligation of it; and the case of those who separate from the communion of the Church of England, as by law established, upon this pretence, that it is against their conscience to join in it, is stated and discussed.

In this discourse he treats fully and distinctly

of the conscience in general; and, in his application to the case of dissenters, he fairly separates the several pretences of conscience, which are truly and justly made by them, from those which are false, viz. such as are mere pretences, and in reality foreign to the matter. And then he shews *distinctly who they are that may, and who they are that may not plead conscience for their nonconformity;* and lastly, he inquires how far this plea of conscience, when truly made, will *justify* any dissenter who continues in separation from the church as established in this kingdom.

When he had finished, he put his papers into the hands of his friend Dr. Claggett, who published them for him, while he himself went down to Norwich to attend his business there.

But the next year, 1684, he prosecuted his argument further, and with more pains and accuracy. Now he undertook to resolve the case of a doubting conscience, viz. the case of those who separate from the Established Church, not because they are *fully* persuaded that they cannot lawfully join in our communion, but because they doubt whether they may lawfully join in it or no; and therefore so long as they thus doubt, dare not venture to communicate, fearing they should sin against God if they should do any action of this consequence with a doubting mind.

This point he treated at large with great judgment and solidity; and considered both the nature, rule, and authority of a doubting conscience, and also the power *that human laws*, ecclesiastical or civil, have of overruling it; or *determining a man's doubts for him* in any matter. And in this work he had, as he used to say, covertly, and without naming of names, answered all that Mr. Wadsworth, or the other writer (for his sermon had been wrote against by more than one) had objected to him; and more especially what had been either omitted by Mr. Dodwell, or not answered altogether to his satisfaction.

The reader who peruses these discourses will find not only a wonderful clearness and exactness in the management of a deceitful and perplexed subject, and great sagacity and nicety in distinguishing, but the whole carried on and wrought up with a temper befitting so tender a subject as conscience is. He insists upon nothing further than he can make his appeal for, to every man's own reason and sense. And where he treats of the doubting conscience, his discourse is suited to reach, if possible, the very weakest side (which is ever the most inexpugnable) of an honest and sincere man. He seems not to write for the pleasure and satisfaction of those who have no doubts upon their minds, and who therefore are apt to judge too hardly of

those who have, and to be too much pleased with seeing the other's weakness exposed, but with such caution and yielding to natural infirmity and involuntary prejudices, as excludes all appearance of triumph in having the better of the argument; and scarce can fail to allure the attention, and prevent the displeasure at least, even of such whose doubts are not by reason to be surmounted.

And indeed Dr. Sharp, in all his casuistry, ever inclined to the milder determinations. He had himself experienced the strong effects of mistaken principles *early instilled into the mind*, and how vigorously *they resisted and embarrassed reason when ripe and mature*. He himself had felt the *pangs of a melancholy doubting* mind, though under great sincerity of intention and rectitude of will; and this taught him how to treat others who fell into the like misfortunes and unhappy ways of thinking, and how necessary it was to be soft and gentle with such tender consciences.

The substance of the two foremention discourses was afterwards published by Dr. Bennet, at Cambridge, in the year 1700, in his Abridgment of the London Cases; and it was done very exactly, for he had received the author's own corrections of it, as he himself gives notice in his preface to the book.

But this controversy concerning schism was not the only dispute that accidentally took its rise from that sermon mentioned before; for it gave occasion to more books upon a different subject about thirty years after it was preached. By this means an anonymous author of a book intitled "An Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion," printed at London, 1704, 8vo, cited out of this sermon the Six Rules for promoting Peace and Church Communion, and made them the foundation of a new and undigested scheme of reconciling the Church of England with the Church of Rome. The author was pleased to stile himself "a Minister of the Church of England;" but the principles he espoused and the points he advanced do evidently show that he only assumed that character to render his performance less obnoxious to the Protestant reader; or, if he had been formerly a Minister of the Church of England, he was, without doubt, at the time of his writing this treatise reconciled to the Church of Rome, as they who answered him did pertinently observe. He showed himself however to be a man of parts and dexterity, and of sufficient learning, and gave a very specious turn to those rules, which Mr. Sharp had intended for reconciling the Dissenters to the Church of England, in order to press them into the service of the Church

of Rome. This book received three answers the year following, viz. 1705. 'One intitled "Concordia Discors, or Animadversions upon a late Treatise, intitled 'an Essay for Catholic Communion,' by a Presbyter of the Church of England." The second was also by an anonymous writer, but publicly recommended by an advertisement from Dr. Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester. In this the essay itself was reprinted, and suitable observations made upon each section of it distinctly. The third and fullest reply was given by Mr. Nath. Spinckes, who, in his answer to the first chapter, destroys the pretended foundation which the author of the essay would be thought to build upon, by showing the perverse use he had made of Mr. Sharp's rules, and the unfair deductions he had drawn from them; and sufficiently proving that they were not applicable to the purposes for which they were cited. To this defence of Mr. Spinckes in particular the reader is referred if he desire further satisfaction.

To return now to the account of Dr. Sharp's labours and behaviour in St. Giles's parish.

The face of public affairs was something changed in 1685, upon the death of King Charles and the accession of his brother to the throne. And the Established Church began to require *another kind of support* and defence from her

advocates than had been lately requisite. For whereas the debates with the Nonconformists were rather invitations of them into her bosom, and recommendations of her purity, and beauty, and external ornaments, than a contest about her essentials; so the dispute that was now on foot, or rather the war that was now commenced, was such as threatened her destruction;—and the point to be decided, whether she was a church or not. Whereby the clergy might see how necessary it was for them to arm themselves to fight *pro Aris*, as well as the lay-subjects *pro Focis*. Dr. Sharp was as sensible of the alarm as any of his brethren, as well prepared to act his part, and as resolute to do his duty.

The first Sunday after the King's death, and proclamation of his successor, he preached at his own church a serious sermon upon Providence; a subject which he thought not improper at that juncture.

He was desired to draw up the Address of the Grand Jury for the City of London, upon the King's happy accession; which he did in these words.

THE ADDRESS, &c.

"May it Please Your Majesty;

"Since we are the first in your Majesty's reign that are called to serve upon the Grand

Inquest for your City of London, we hope your Majesty, according to your wonted clemency, will give us leave among the rest of your good subjects to present ourselves at your Majesty's feet.

"We do magnify the goodness of Divine Providence, that hath so peaceably and happily seated your Majesty in the throne of your royal ancestors, which all the world must own to be your undoubted right.

"We do from the bottom of our hearts thank Almighty God, and your Majesty, for the gracious assurances you have given your people to maintain and support the government both in Church and State as established by law.

"And as we have always endeavoured in our place and station, to approve ourselves loyal and dutiful subjects to your Majesty's dearly beloved brother, our late dread Sovereign of blessed memory, so (as it is our duty), we promise and resolve, with all the faith and sincerity in the world to serve your Majesty, your heirs and successors, to the utmost extremity."

It has been remarked that most of the addresses upon this occasion ran in a warm; some think too warm a strain of loyalty. And possibly some objections may be made to the last expression of this address, of serving the King

(as upon a foot of duty), to the utmost extremity. But it is to be remembered, that although no man had a more unshaken loyalty than Dr. Sharp, or could be more firmly attached to the service and interest of his prince than he was; yet he never taught or held any principles of submission, but what were agreeable to the constitution. For he always laid down the laws of the land as the rule and measure of obedience. And therefore his general expressions should be understood with such limitations as the principles he professed, and to which he ever inviolably adhered, will admit of, or rather will confine them to.

Soon after the King's accession, he preached his Lent Course at Whitehall, viz. March 20, upon Luke xvi. 31. Concerning the evidences we have at this time of the truth of the Christian religion. This sermon was printed at the particular request of the Bishops who were then present. And (if he, who had a mean opinion of all his own performances, may be allowed to make a good judgment of any of them,) he so far himself approved of this discourse, as to think it the least exceptionable in his whole collection.

At the coronation, in the month following, he was one that walked among the chaplains and dignitaries that attended the solemnity. He

was afterwards appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, and continued so till the Revolution; but this appointment was not till the next year, April 20, 1686.

In the mean time he was busied in giving good advice, and doing good offices to as many as applied themselves to him during the difficulties of the present administration of affairs. And he was able to do the more service for having the good luck to be in some kind of favour with the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, whose friendship he not only made use of for the sake of others, but experienced himself in his troubles, which soon succeeded. This year he obtained favour of his Lordship for Sheriff Cornish's, widow and children. Mr. Cornish had sent for Dr. Sharp and Dr. Calamy to attend him on the morning he was executed, which accordingly they both did, and the next day they went both together to my Lord Chancellor Jefferies, to plead on the behalf of that gentleman's family. His Lordship was exceeding angry and passionate for some time. But they desisted not, till they at length pacified and appeased him, and then had good success with their petition.

It was at the close of this year, that he joined with Dr. Busby, of Westminster, in an act of charity and respect to the Rev. Dr. John Pell, who had been Chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon,

and was a man of learning and worth, but died December 12, very poor and almost wanting necessaries. They caused him at their own charges to be decently interred in a vault in St. Giles's church, called the "Rector's Vault."

But not to interrupt the account during the following years of this reign with any more incidents of this kind, let the testimony of Sir John Chardin (who knew the Doctor at this time), supply the place of them all, as it is given in a letter which he wrote Anno 1703, in these words.

"If I am so free with the most eminent Archbishop of York, it is by remembering tenderly the Rev. Pastor of St. Giles's before the Revolution; his zeal with the Protestants; his fatherly concern for the persecuted and exiled; his incomparable writing and preaching in the defence of the truth and in advancement of Christian virtue," &c.

The next year, 1686, Dr. Sharp fell under the displeasure of the King, for treating upon some points in the Romish controversy in the pulpit. Whereby a handle was given to the court of proceeding against the worthy *Bishop of London*, who for refusing to suspend the Doctor was himself suspended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Father *Orleans* in his History of the Revolutions in England, tells us that this

affair of Dr. Sharp, in which his diocesan was involved, gave rise to the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, the effects of which proved afterwards so prejudicial to the King and his affairs. And Bishop Burnet places the advising and erecting of that court after the Bishop of London's refusal to suspend the Doctor upon the difficulties that arose about a method of proceeding legally against him. It has indeed been assured from other hands, that the commission was actually granted in April, before the Doctor preached the sermon that gave offence, though it was not opened till the August following. But that this is a mistake appears from hence; that when the Bishop of London pleaded before the Commissioners, that he conceived their commission did not extend to the crime laid to his charge, because what he was accused of was before the date of the said commission; the Lord Chancellor did not deny the date of the commission to be subsequent to the offence, but alledged that it had restrospect to offences past.

However the Bishop and the Doctor were the first over whom that unprecedented authority, and illegal power, was exercised.

Their troubles on this occasion (particularly the Bishop's,) are taken notice of in most of the histories of these times. But because several things relating to Dr. Sharp's conduct in the

whole affair have not hitherto been published, and others have been misrepresented in the accounts that are made public, it may be proper in this place to give a more particular and exact narrative of the whole matter.

The King, in the beginning of this year, had been advised, as the supreme ordinary of the Church of England, to command the reprinting of the *Directions for Preachers*, which had been given by the late King, in 1662; and to authorize them afresh by letters mandatory to the two Archbishops; not considering the difference of seasons, and disparity of circumstances the King was then in, in respect of his Protestant predecessors, whose practice it had been, when there was occasion, to restrain the liberties of the pulpit. And the consequences was, that the jealousies of the Church of England against the King, instead of being abated, were increased; and people's fears every day grew greater concerning the designs which the court was supposed to be carrying on. So that some of the clergy, notwithstanding the abovementioned directions to them, continued as before, to preach pretty zealously against Popery. Dr. Sharp was one of those who would not at this time drop the Popish controversy. And he was the rather kept to it by the perpetual attempts which he found were made by the Popish priests

upon his parishioners. And as he was a popular preacher upon those arguments, he was carefully watched after the publication of the Directions to Preachers, as a person likely to offend against that order.

It was on the 2nd of May that he preached in his own church upon 1 Cor. xii. 13. From this text he took occasion to treat concerning the nature of the *Catholic Church*, and to settle the true notion of that term as it stands in our creeds. Having done that, at the close of his sermon, he drew six conclusions from what he had said, against the Church of Rome; to show the vanity of her pretensions in engrossing the name of Catholic to herself. But these he chose rather to propose by way of inquiry than assertion, that he might be led to a more equal and just examination of them, which he proposed to do afterwards with great particularity, had he been suffered to have prosecuted the subject in the manner he intended. Now the first of these queries which he designed to speak to the next Lord's Day, was this, whether upon the true stating of the notion of the Catholic Church, the question that the Romanists laid so much stress upon, viz. in what part of the world, or in which of the different communions of Christendom the true church was to be found, be not quite impertinent and out of doors?

As he came out of the pulpit a paper was put into his hands by an unknown person, containing an argument for the right that the Church of Rome had to the stile and title of the only visible Catholic Church.

This probably was drawn up hastily, (for it was not well expressed,) by one of his auditors, who observed by the conclusion of his sermon, what point he was next to proceed upon, and who either desired satisfaction as to that argument, or designed to put him to a difficulty.

The Doctor looking upon this as a kind of challenge, and not knowing to whom he should send an answer, and being at that time engaged in that very question, took an opportunity in his next sermon, preached May 9, to conclude with a particular confutation of this paper. What he said against it, and in what manner he introduced it, will best appear from the very words themselves which he then delivered; and which will be found in the 7th volume of his Sermons, published 1735, from p. 13 to 148.

It was this conclusion or appendix to his second sermon on the above said text which gave the offence, or rather which gave the handle to such as sought occasion to misrepresent him to the King. And this is what Father *Orleans*, who knew nothing of the matter, calls "la Saillie de Sharp;" and for which he stiles him "un homme

emporté," a hot forward man; and "le Curé declamateur," the railing Parson*. Nay, he takes upon him to affirm that Dr. Sharp in his sermon inveighed against the Catholics in such a manner as the most zealous Protestants disapproved and thought too violent. "Un homme Sharp," says he, "Curé de Saint Giles se rendit remarquable sur cette matiere, et mela dans un de ses sermons des invectives contre les Catholiques, que les plus zelez Protestans disapprouverent, et jujerent trop violentes."

The reader must judge from the passage itself how far either Protestants or Catholics had reason to be offended at it. It is evident there are no personal reflections in it, no insinuations about the administration of the government, nor any thing that tends to sedition. He opposes himself only to some false principles and positions, the refutation of which was at that time of great consequence. And if he does it with greater briskness and tartness than is usual to be met with in his writings, it should be remembered that he was disturbed very much about that time with the Romish priests tampering with his parishioners, and likewise that he looked upon

* This is the expression used by Echard in his translation of Father Orleans' "History of the Revolutions in England." Second Edition, p. 289.

this paper as a sort of challenge, which if he had not undertaken, would have been interpreted by them as yielding to the strength of the argument.

Neither ought he to be charged, as the French writer abovementioned thinks fit to charge him, with wilfully transgressing the king's injunctions. For the points prohibited were only *matters of state*, rights of sovereign and subjects, and such questions in divinity as were nice and difficult, and merely speculative, which had formerly occasioned great troubles in the nation, and particularly the doctrine of predestination and free-will. But the controversy with the Church of Rome, and particularly that question, *Whether the Church of England was a church, or no church?* could not possibly be reckoned among the prohibited questions in King Charles's instructions, in 1662, nor consequently in those instructions revived by King James; though it might be presumed the design of the court in republishing them, was to put a stop, or at least give a check to the clergy's proceeding in the Romish controversy in their sermons.

But how unblameable soever the Doctor himself might be in this affair, yet his sermon gave an opportunity to informers to represent what he had said in a quite different construction from what he intended. The allegory, or allusion, to

a civil case, which he had made use of in his argument, was a thing easy to be remembered, and yet liable to be diversified according to the humour of the relators.

And the last sentences in the sermon, concerning those who depart from the Church of England and embrace Popery, might be construed as a reflection on the King, *whose case that was*, as Bishop Burnet well observes. But the chief thing that seems to have occasioned the informations at court, and given them countenance there, was a mistaken notion of several of the Doctor's auditors, that the paper which he undertook to refute was the same that had been found in the late king's strong box; and that he had attacked, and seemed to triumph over that very argument which was thought to be, in the judgment of his late majesty, invincible. All this indeed was a mistake: but notwithstanding it quickly spread in the town, and no wonder if the report was carried to the King himself. In fine, it was represented to the court as if the Doctor had endeavoured, by that sermon, to shew his contempt of the King's late orders concerning preachers, to foment divisions among his Majesty's subjects, and to reflect upon his Majesty's person as well as government.

"The information," says Bishop Burnet, "as

to the words pretended to be spoken by Sharp, was false, as he himself assured me."

But what his lordship adds is a mistake, and what most certainly he never had from Dr. Sharp, namely, that Sharp went to court to shew his notes, which he was ready to swear were those from which he had read it; by which the falsehood of the information would appear. Dr. Sharp was never forward to go to court, or to *swear* any thing, but when first called upon by proper authority; and in this case his doing so would not have helped him, for his notes being all in cyphers, or characters, the falsehood of the information, had he sworn to them, would not thereby have appeared more than it did before; only he would have appeared himself, what by his more prudent conduct he did not. For he troubled not himself about any reports of informations against him, till Lord Chancellor Jeffries sent for him, and acquainted him with the King's displeasure at what had been said concerning his preaching. This was a fortnight after the sermon was preached, being Whitsunday, May 23, in the evening; whereas the sermon which Dr. Sharp understood had given the offence, was preached by him on the 9th of the same month. His lordship having informed him of the accusation laid against him, and of his Majesty's resentment thereupon; Dr. Sharp the

next day waited upon his lordship with the notes of his sermon, and read it over to him. Whether the Doctor did this for his own justification, and to satisfy his lordship that he had been misrepresented, or whether my lord ordered him to bring his sermon and repeat it before him, is not certain; but the latter seems most probable: because Dr. Sharp afterwards understood that his lordship's design in sending for him and discoursing with him, was, that he might tell the King that he had reprimanded the Doctor, and that he was sorry for having given occasion of offence to his Majesty; hoping by this means to release Dr. Sharp from any further trouble. However it was, his lordship took upon him, while the Doctor was reading over his sermon, to chide him for several passages which the Doctor thought gave no occasion for chiding; and he desired his lordship when he objected to these less obnoxious passages, to be patient, for there was a great deal worse yet to come. In fine, his lordship having reproved him for what he thought proper, and as much as would answer his design, seemed well enough satisfied with the rest of the discourse, and so dismissed him.

Not long after this, Sir Richard Lloyd and Sir Thomas Exton were sent for to Windsor, for their opinion about ordering the Bishop of London to suspend Dr. Sharp; but what opinion

they gave is not known. In the mean time the Doctor was more sensibly touched with a domestic affliction, for he lost two of his sons in two days, and buried them both on the third day; and on the day that followed that, the King sent his letter to the Bishop of London, which was delivered to his lordship at Fulham, on Thursday, June 17th, by Mr. Atterbury the messenger, and was as follows:

"JAMES R.

"Right Reverend Father in God.

"We greet you well. Whereas we have been informed and are fully satisfied that Dr. John Sharp, Rector of the parish church, Saint Giles's in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, and in your diocese, notwithstanding our late letter to the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and our directions concerning preachers, given at our court at Whitehall the 15th day of March, 1685, in the second year of our reign. Yet he the said Dr. Sharp, in contempt of the said orders, hath in some of his sermons since preached, presumed to make unbecoming reflections, and to utter such expressions as were not fit or proper for him, endeavouring thereby to beget, in the minds of his hearers, an evil opinion of us and our government, by insinuating fears and jealousies

to dispose them to discontent, and to lead them into disobedience and rebellion. These are therefore to require and command you immediately upon receipt hereof, forthwith to suspend him from further preaching in any parish church or chapel in your diocese, until he hath given us satisfaction, and our further pleasure be known herein. And for your so doing this shall be your warrant, and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Windsor the 14th day of June, 1686, in the second year of our reign. By his majesty's command.

"SUNDERLAND."

The most that hath been or can be said in favour of this step which the King was advised to take, rests upon the following *suppositions or presumptions;* for so they are, rather than reasons or arguments. 1st. That the offence charged upon Dr. Sharp amounted to an *ipso facto* suspension by our constitutions. Nay, if the opinions of the judges, given in the case of the Puritans, were to be allowed good, it was an offence *fineable at discretion*, and very near to treason; and consequently a degradation and deprivation should rather have followed than a suspension. Therefore the King, in this method which he pursued, took the very mildest course with the Doctor, especially as the suspension

which he directed was not *ab officio* totally, but only from one branch of his office, namely, preaching within the diocese of London, till his Majesty had received satisfaction. 2d. That where an ecclesiastical superior or judge declares any sentence *virtute et vi canonis,* there is no need of any judicial process previous to the sentence; the delinquent having fallen under it *a jure,* and therefore the ordinary acts not herein as judge, but as *custos canonum.* That *ipso facto* excommunications (and *ipso facto* suspensions are of the like kind and upon the same footing) are decreed by the very canons themselves, and have their validity from thence, in like manner as *ipso facto* deprivations are established by our laws, namely, in certain cases when a benefice shall be void without any declaratory sentence in the ecclesiastical court. That therefore what was required by the King of the Bishop of London, in the order to suspend Dr. Sharp, was not that he should decree it as a judge, but declare it as a party concerned and engaged in defence of the canons, and in the preservation of the laws of the church.

And 3d. That when the King, as supreme ordinary, had informed himself of the offence laid to the Doctor's charge, and was thereupon fully satisfied of the truth of it, the Bishop of London not only ought, when required to de-

clare him suspended, but would, of necessity impeach his Majesty's ecclesiastical supremacy, if he refused or disputed his commands herein.

It may easily be supposed these suggestions might have weight enough with the King at that time, to persuade him that his orders to the Bishop were of sufficient authority, since they have had weight enough *since that time with some people,* to induce them to think they would in great measure justify his letter. But the Bishop himself was of another opinion, so were all the men of the law whom he consulted. They held it undoubted that Dr. Sharp could not legally be *punished by suspension* without *being first admitted to make a legal defence.* That his Majesty's command being directed to a judge, and in consequence being a command to act as a judge, was rendered inconsistent, and obedience to it made it impracticable by requiring him to act not as a judge, but arbitrarily and contrary to law and justice. Nothing could seem harder upon the Bishop than such an injunction. The utmost compliance that could be made, or the most effectual obedience that could be paid to it was this, to desire or to advise the Doctor not to preach till they saw some issue to the present difficulty. For a Bishop's advice is in some sense an admonition, which has the face of a judicial proceeding, and

to silence him by such admonition, came the nearest, (and was indeed, if submitted to, tantamount) to the suspending him from preaching, which was all that the King had required. Therefore this method was agreed upon by the Bishop and the civilians, and Dr. Sharp was ordered by his Lordship to meet him at Doctors' Commons on June the 18th, (the day after the King's letter was delivered.) He did so, about noon the same day, and the Bishop giving him to understand his Majesty's displeasure, desired and advised him to forbear the pulpit till the King's further pleasure was known. Which the Doctor though already determined so to do of himself, did promise the Bishop in form. Whereupon his Lordship wrote the following letter to Lord Sunderland, President of the Council, and dispatched it by the hands of Dr. Sharp.

"My Lord,

"I always have and shall count it my duty to obey the King in whatever commands he lays upon me, that I can perform with a safe conscience. But in this I humbly conceive I am obliged to proceed according to *law*, and therefore it is impossible for me to comply, because though his Majesty commands me only to execute his pleasure, yet in the capacity I am to do

it I must act as a *judge*. And your Lordship knows no judge condemns any man before he hath knowledge of the cause, and hath cited the party. However I sent to Mr. Dean and acquainted him with his Majesty's displeasure, whom I find so ready to give all reasonable satisfaction, that I have thought fit to make him the bearer of this answer from him that will never be unfaithful to the King or otherwise than,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most humble servant,

" H. LONDON."

On the same day the Doctor drew up his own petition to the King in the terms following, as taken from the original petition.

" TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

" The humble Petition of John Sharp, Clerk.

" Sheweth,

" That it is very grievous to your petitioner to be so unhappy as to have incurred your Majesty's displeasure.

" That from the time he heard of it to this present he hath forborn to preach.

" Your petitioner can with great sincerity affirm, that ever since he hath been a preacher, he hath faithfully endeavoured to do the best

service he could in his place and station, as well to the late King, your royal brother, as to your Majesty, both by preaching and otherwise.

"And so far hath he always been from venting any thing in the pulpit tending to schism or faction, or any way to the disturbance of your Majesty's government, that he hath upon all occasions, in his sermons, to the utmost of his power, set himself against all sorts of doctrines and principles that look that way. And this he is so well assured of, that he cannot but apprehend that his sermons have been very much misrepresented to your Majesty.

"But if in any sermon of his any words or expressions have unwarily slipt from him, liable to such construction as to give your Majesty cause of offence; as he solemnly protests he had no ill intention in those words or expressions, so he is very sorry for them; and resolves for the future to be so careful in the discharge of his duty, that your Majesty shall have reason to believe him to be your most faithful subject.

"And therefore he earnestly prayeth, that your Majesty, of your royal grace and clemency, would be pleased to lay aside the displeasure you have conceived against your humble petitioner, and restore him to that fa-

vour which the rest of your Clergy enjoy under your Majesty's gracious government.

"So shall your petitioner ever pray," &c.

With this and the Bishop of London's letter, the Doctor went the next day, being Saturday, June 19, to Hampton Court, where a council was held, and the King present. He delivered the Bishop's letter to the Lord Sunderland, who only asked him "whether the Bishop had obeyed the order?" He told him, No. And that was all that passed between them. As for the petition, the Doctor could not get it received; but waited there till the council broke up, and all the members were gone; and then returned to town with the Lord Nottingham, who had carried him thither.

Had the Bishop's letter to the Lord President been taken notice of, and Dr. Sharp's petition been received and read, the matter might well have ended here; but the silencing of the Doctor was not so much the thing intended. The censure was evidently levelled more at the Bishop of London than at the Doctor; and having got hereby some handle against his lordship, the court seized the opportunity, and seemed determined to make all the advantages they could of it. But as yet it did not appear where the storm was most likely to fall; Dr. Sharp was

still advised to attend with his petition, which he accordingly did a week after, on June 26, at Windsor, whither the court was removed, and he put his petition into Lord Middleton's hands, who, the next day, June 27, told his Majesty of it at the Cabinet Council; but his Majesty would not suffer it to be read. The Lord Rochester had promised the Doctor to be his friend, and no doubt he was so, as far as he could. The Doctor, finding no hopes of favour at this time, returned the next day to London; but he was afterwards assured, that there were spies upon him all the time he staid at Windsor, and that if he had gone into any public house, stories would have been made upon it;—but it fortunately happened, that he lodged and staid the whole time with Mr. Jones, in the College, and so gave no opportunities for scandal of any kind.

Upon this the Lord Chancellor Jefferies advised Dr. Sharp to get out of the way, who thereupon, after two days stay in London, went down to Norwich, July 1, where he continued till the middle of December unmolested; in which time, as he says himself, they had done the Bishop of London's work. For the court having got a plausible pretence of mortifying that worthy prelate, and *in his person the whole body of the clergy*, and a good opportunity of

trying whether they could intimidate the rest from preaching on those subjects, the handling of which still checked and stopped the growth of Popery in the kingdom, resolved to proceed against his lordship for disobeying, as it was termed, the King's injunctions. To this end, the *Ecclesiastical Commission* was opened in the beginning of August, in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, and the Bishop was cited thither, and appeared on the 9th, and 15th, and 31st. On the last of which days, the cause came to a full hearing, and was brought to a sentence or decree of suspension; an account of which is given in all the histories of King James's reign. But for the reader's satisfaction, a large and more particular abstract of the process on the 31st of August, than hath been hitherto published, is inserted in the Appendix *. The commission itself may be found in the third volume of the *Complete History of England*, p. 454; where likewise the pleas and answers delivered into court in writing, by the Bishop, may be met with, p. 458 and 459.

To return to Dr. Sharp, who remained at Norwich unmolested during the course of these proceedings, and for some time after, till he received information from his friends in London, that if he would come up to town, he might

* App. II. No. I.

be-restored; upon which he left Norwich and repaired to London, where, in company with his brother Rawlinson, he waited on the Lord Chancellor, (Dec. 22,) who was very civil, and intreated him kindly, notwithstanding his late very different usage of the Bishop of London. His lordship advised the Doctor to draw up his petition again, and employ some friend, naming Mr. Henry Guy, (then Secretary of the Treasury) to hand it to Lord Sunderland. Accordingly he waited upon Mr. Guy, and gave him the same petition that he had offered at Hampton Court, and again to no purpose, at Windsor. But Mr. Guy having perused it, said it was too long, and would not do: and ordered the Doctor to draw up one in two or three lines, acknowledging his being sorry for having incurred the King's displeasure, and desiring it might be removed, and not *to meddle with reasons and apologies.* This the Doctor did immediately, in the words following.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"The Humble Petition of John Sharp, Clerk.

"Sheweth,

"That it is a grievous affliction to your petitioner to have incurred your Majesty's displeasure, for the which he is most heartily sorry, and promiseth, for the future, to behave him-

self in all things as becomes a most dutiful and loyal subject.

"And therefore, humbly prays your Majesty of your royal grace and clemency, to restore him to that liberty of his function which the rest of your Clergy enjoy, under your Majesty's gracious government.

"So shall your petitioner ever pray," &c.

This petition was presented and received; and the Doctor immediately received the following letter from my Lord Sunderland.

"*Whitehall, Jan.* 9, 1686-7.

"Sir,

"I have read your petition to the King, who is pleased to accept of your *submission*, and commands me upon it to acquaint you, that he allows you to return to the exercise of your function, as formerly.

"I am, Sir, your friend and servant,

"SUNDERLAND, P."

Thus ended the matter. Dr. Sharp never certainly knew who it was that laid the information against him. But the person who was chiefly charged with bringing this affair upon him, thought fit at the Revolution, to take sanctuary and shelter under Doctor Sharp's character. For he sent all his plate and valuable

things to him to Great Russel-street, where they were secured faithfully, and taken care of, till all apprehension of danger was over.

During the times of his troubles, Mr. White, the engraver, applied to him for his picture, believing, that if it was printed and published, it would sell mighty well. But the same reasons that induced Mr. White to ask this favour, prevented the Doctor from granting it; therefore, he told the engraver, he would upon no consideration consent to such a proposal. Upon which Mr. White changed his request, and desired only that he would promise him to let him take his picture when he was a Bishop. To which the Doctor, supposing himself safe in such promise, readily consented. And it was wholly in regard to this promise, when claimed, that he allowed Mr. White to publish his print of him, after he was promoted to York.

In the meanwhile, after he returned to the exercise of his function, his time was chiefly taken up with the Popish controversy. For the Papists, during his late absence, had been very busy in his parish; so that, upon his return, he was much taken up in answering their prayers and queries, detecting their sophistries, and in preserving his parishioners secure from all their attacks. And in this sort of work he employed the greatest part of the year 1687.

Several of the papers wrote by him at this time, are now published at the end of the seventh volume of his Sermons.

On Wednesday, March 28, 1688, his dear friend, Dr. Claggett, died. He never lamented any loss so much. And though he could not refuse paying his last respects to his deceased companion, by preaching his funeral sermon, at Bassishaw Church, where Dr. Claggett had been lecturer, yet, he used to say, that never any task was more grievous to him than this was. The same night he brought home Mrs. Claggett, the disconsolate widow, to his own house, and treated her with the utmost tenderness and affection, the little time she survived her husband. Dr. Claggett indeed, and he, had all along lived with the greatest familiarity and most entire confidence in each other, that was to be imagined. They not only communicated studies, but often carried them on together. For the former not being so well furnished with books as the latter, occasioned his frequently making use of Dr. Sharp's library, which he did as if it were his own, coming in when he pleased with the freedom of a domestic, and prosecuting his enquiries as he pleased, without the least ceremony used, or interruption given on either side. Indeed, if similitude of temper and manners, if equality of age, and perfect conformity

of inclinations and studies, usually make (as is thought) the truest and most delightful friendships; then these two persons needed only to be known to each other, to create a mutual endearment: but so it happened with them, that their friendship was more firmly cemented, and their correspondence rendered more intimate, by being engaged in the same labours, the same controversies. In carrying on of which, they seemed animated with the same zeal, affected with the same piety, and influenced by the same modesty. They recommended and published each others writings, not only with more confidence, but with more pleasure than they did their own. Nor did Doctor Sharp ever do any thing for his friend that seemed to give himself trouble, but the preaching at his funeral *.

Such friendships as these being rare, and a real credit to the parties engaged in them, it

* How valuable a man this was, and how much Dr. Sharp esteemed and loved him, will best appear from a passage or two of the Funeral Sermon above-mentioned, and from the Preface which Doctor Sharp wrote to the first volume of his friend's Sermons, which were soon published, as well for the honour and credit of the departed Author, as for the public benefit.

Both these will be found in the Appendix. App. I. No. I. and No. II.

seems a piece of justice due to both their memories, not to omit an opportunity, fairly given, of setting forth so remarkable a character of their private lives, and therefore this digression needs no excuse.

Not long after Dr. Claggett's death, the town was alarmed and filled with variety of sentiments concerning the birth of a Prince of Wales. Sunday, June 17, was appointed the Thanksgiving Day for her Majesty's happy delivery. On which day Dr. Sharp and Dr. Wake changed pulpits, and the former preached (upon, *How shall we escape, if we neglect so great Salvation,*) a plain, practical sermon, and said not one word about any matter that his text had no relation to.

On the Friday following, he went down to Norwich, where the church required his attendance: and there spent his time chiefly in examining into the state of his own soul, and improving himself in all Christian virtues and graces. Now it was that he entered upon a more strict and excellent way of living than he had heretofore attained to, and which it was ever after the main business of his life to labour in, and bring to perfection. But this shall be related in a more convenient place.

He returned to London on August 13, to consult with his brethren the Archdeacons, who

were summoned to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to shew cause why they had not obeyed the King's orders with respect to the *Declaration*. The orders had been given, July 12; and were directed to all Chancellors, Archdeacons, Commissaries, and Officials, to enquire strictly within their respective jurisdictions, in what churches or chapels his Majesty's Declaration had been read or omitted, &c. And to transmit an account thereof.

The 16th of August was the day appointed for their respective appearance. Upon this the Archdeacons met at Doctors' Commons, and consulted together on the 14th and 15th: and there it was agreed by the majority, that none of them should appear on the day following. Upon which Dr. Sharp, on the 17th, retired again to Norwich. What his sentiments were about the order for reading the Declaration will best appear from a short paper, drawn up by him about this time, either for his own defence, or for the conviction of such as applied to him for advice on this occasion: wherein, though he acknowledges the King's prerogative to be higher *in licitis et honestis*, not only than the Bishop's, but than the Metropolitan's too, yet he doth not allow the aforesaid *order* ought to be complied with. The paper is this,

"All the law that I know of, which relates to

the publishing or declaring things in the Church, is the Rubric in the Communion Service which follows after the Nicene Creed: 'Nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church during the time of divine service, but what is prescribed by the rules of this book, or enjoined by the King, or by the Ordinary of the place.'

"I take it, that by this Rubric we are *equally* obliged to publish in the Church what is enjoined us by the King, as what is enjoined us by the Ordinary. And I have reason for this conclusion, because, as parish ministers, we have taken an oath to obey our Ordinaries *in all lawful and honest things*; and a *higher obligation* cannot be laid upon us to obey the King.

"Taking now this for granted, I would ask, whether supposing our Ordinary should enjoin us to publish some *declarations* of his about matters, which we were convinced in our judgment to be *against the known laws and constitutions of this Church and realm*, and likewise to be highly prejudicial to the interests of the Protestant Religion, which we do profess, we should think ourselves obliged by *our oath of canonical obedience*, to comply with such an injunction of our Ordinary? If it be said, we should not think ourselves obliged, I then say, neither can we think ourselves obliged to publish such a *declaration* if it comes from the King.

"The only plausible thing that can be objected against this, is, that this way of reasoning makes the Bishop's authority over the Clergy to be equal to the King's. I answer by no means. All that is meant is, that by the Rubric we are as much bound to publish what is enjoined us by the Bishop, as what is enjoined us by the King. And we are sworn to obey the Bishop, *in licitis et honestis*, which is all the active obedience we owe to the King. But then there is this vast difference between the authority of one and of the other. As we are parish ministers we are bound in *licitis et honestis* to obey our Ordinaries. But if his superior, our Metropolitan gives us contrary commands, then we must obey the Metropolitan, and not the Ordinary. And if the King, who is by our constitution, the supreme head of the church, *do controul the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan*, then we are released from all obligations to comply with the Metropolitan, and must obey the King. So that where there happens a clashing of legal orders or jurisdictions we are certainly bound to obey the King, rather than our Bishop or Archbishop. But then even our obedience to the King is to be extended no further than *licita et honesta*."

Thus far the paper.

But to return. The commissioners finding no

effect of this order, published a second, directing and commanding the aforesaid Ecclesiastical officers to make this a matter of their inquiry at their visitations, which they were required to hold before the 15th of November following, and to transmit an account thereof before the 6th of December. But *Providence prevented a return of this inquiry.*

For now came on that surprising change and happy turn of affairs, which released the Clergy of the Church of England, and all good Protestants from the difficulties that surrounded them, and the great dangers that threatened them. During the several steps of which transaction Dr. Sharp preserved the character that befitted his station, by a conduct that best suited with his calling. He divided his time between his two churches of Norwich and St. Giles's, though not a little interrupted in his services to both by a severe fever that he had in October. *He never in his life meddled or interposed in affairs of state, further than was incumbent upon him by virtue of his station and office.* This was his principle, which he adhered to both at this time and ever after. Nor did the change of any man's private fortunes and condition through the alteration of the time, tempt him to forget private and personal obligations; which principle of gratitude induced him to

make a visit (which were not his motive to it known, would appear very unseasonable), to the Lord Chancellor Jefferies in his great disgrace and distress in the Tower. But the Doctor remembered his Lordship had been a friend to him in his own troubles, and thought proper to acknowledge his sense of his Lordship's kindness in this manner. My Lord was not a little surprised at his constancy, as appears by his salutation of him at his first entrance into the room, in these words: "*What, dare you own me now?*" The Doctor seeing his condition judged he should not lose the opportunity of being serviceable to his Lordship as a divine, if it was in his power to be so; and freely expostulated with him upon his public actions, *and particularly the affair in the west.* To which last charge, his Lordship returned this answer, "that he had done nothing in that affair without the advice and concurrence of ..... Who now," said he, "is the darling of the people." His Lordship further complained much of the reports that went about concerning him, particularly that of his giving himself up to hard drinking in his confinement; which he declared was grounded upon nothing more than his present seasonable use of punch, to alleviate the pressures of stone or gravel under which he then laboured.

Neither did Dr. Sharp quit his allegiance to King James, or cease to acknowledge him to be his sovereign, till both Houses of Parliament had declared his desertion of the government and kingdom to be properly an *abdication* of them, and had thereupon filled the throne, in which settlement he acquiesced. Of this he gave a remarkable instance upon an occasion that sufficiently tried both his principles and courage. The convention opened Jan. 24th; during the debates upon the great and important subject of the King's abdication and vacancy of the throne, he was appointed to preach on Sunday, Jan. 27th, before the Prince of Orange, and on Wednesday the 30th, before the House of Commons. And in his prayer on both occasions he did as *usual pray for King James.* His doing so upon the first occasion was not so much, because neither of the Houses had yet come to any declaration. But his doing it on the Wednesday following, after the Commons had passed their vote that King James had abdicated, and the throne was vacant (which vote passed on Monday Jan. 28th) was taken amiss by several members as a contradiction of their vote; though it should have been remembered that as yet the Lords had not concurred with them, and as yet the *service of the Church was not altered by authority.* However, after some warm disputes

among them they voted him thanks. There is a memorandum in Dr. Sharp's own hand under the vote of thanks which was sent him in these words.

"*Veneris* 1^mo *die Feb.*, 1688.—Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That the Thanks of this House be given to Dr. Sharp, Dean of Norwich, for his Sermon preached before this House on Wednesday last, and that he be desired to print the same. And that Sir John Knight, and Mr. Auditor Done, do acquaint him with such, the thanks and desire of this House.

"PAUL JODRELL, Cl. D. C."

"This sermon here desired to be printed," was that which I preached on Jan. 30, after the House had made a vote, that King James had abdicated. Nevertheless in my prayer before sermon, I prayed for King James as I used to do. At which, and I believe, at some passages in the sermon, great offence was taken by several of the warm men in the House of Commons. And complaint was made by the Speaker, Mr. Powel, to the House that very afternoon. Upon which a great debate arose, which took up all their time that night, but nothing was concluded. The next day, being the 31st of January, was the day of thanksgiving for the arrival of the Prince of Orange. And then Dr. Burnet preached before the House. The day after when the House was

set, the first motion that was made was for 'Thanks,' &c. for my sermon, which produced this vote, Sir John Knight made the motion. But *for all this order I did not print my sermon.*"

Thus far for his own memorandum.

It seems when he perceived that he had displeased some gentlemen by the very mention of the Jesuits doctrine of deposing of kings (which he did in the latter part of his sermon,) he was unwilling to give further offence to as many as should think proper to construe what he said as a reflection on the proceedings of the House. For though he always thought it his duty in the pulpit both to speak to the point, and to speak to the plain truth; yet wherever he could avoid giving unnecessary offence no man was more careful to do so.

This sermon had been composed in King Charles the Second's reign, viz. in 1679. And had been often preached without offence, and the words which were thought obnoxious on this occasion, were penned at a time when it was impossible the preacher should have any design of reflecting on a procedure that was not then dreamed of.

But least what he said or may be reported to have said on this occasion, should hereafter be imputed to a disposition which never was his, it

may not be improper to give the reader that particular passage, which only can, by any construction, be thought to have any untoward or offensive look at so critical a juncture.

" Had this been done," said he, speaking of the King's murder, " in a Popish country, where the *deposing and murdering of Princes* is allowed; nay, and sometimes encouraged and promoted by the pretended infallible Vicar of Christ, it had been no such great wonder. But to be done in a Protestant country, nay, and a country that *hath always gloried that, by the principles of her establishment*, she hath given the best security to princes for their persons and their rights that any Protestant country in Europe hath done:—Oh, what a wound is this to our religion, and what a blemish doth it cast upon it! *' Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, least the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, least the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph* *.' "

This seems to be the obnoxious passage referred to by Dr. Sharp in his memorandum, which displeased certain members. But Dr.

* The remainder of this sermon containing an answer to the Roman Catholics for reproaching the Church of England with the King's murder, which might likewise in the opinions of some be unseasonable at this nice conjuncture, is thrown into the Appendix. Appendix I. No. III.

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Burnet happening to preach before them the day following, being the Thanksgiving for the Prince of Orange's arrival, had put these gentlemen into so good humour again, that they dropt the resentments they had taken up on their day of Fasting, and allowed a vote of thanks to Dr. Sharp to pass unanimously. And it is certain no displeasure was taken at Court from what had happened, for on that day fortnight, being the first Friday in Lent, he was appointed to preach before the Queen, and was taken into no small favour by her Majesty.

In the former part of this year, 1689, Dr. Sharp and his friend Dr. Tillotson had a good deal of trouble upon their hands, and no small share of their time taken up with a trust which they were engaged in by Alderman Ask. He dying and leaving considerable effects had made them joint executors of his will, and made the Haberdasher's Company his heirs. And among several other legacies had left each of the executors £200, and £400 to twenty such poor clergymen as they should nominate.

The executors were so prudent as to let the agents of the Company (whose concern in this matter was the greatest) have the custody of all the ready money and bonds that were found belonging to the deceased; or at least they were put into some common hand, trusted by

both parties, till the will was completely executed. Nor was there any thing transacted relating to this trust from the time that the will was opened, to the time of their surrendering all their concerns into the hands of the Company, but in the presence and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the Company, particularly Sir Thomas Vernon and Mr. Mould, which latter kept the accounts of all things done in this affair. This caution of theirs proved afterwards of great use, by enabling them to give full satisfaction to some who had suspected, upon false suggestions made to them, that the executors had disposed of some of the Alderman's effects before they delivered in the schedules to the Company. And this being suggested at a time when they were both Metropolitans, would have been something more than a blot upon their private characters, had they not had sufficient evidences to recur to, of their great care and honesty in the management of the aforesaid trust.

Not long after and in the same year, these two friends, who still rose together both in their characters and preferments, received notice of more public trusts reposed in them by his Majesty, King William. Dr. Sharp received his at Norwich, from the Earl of Nottingham, by the following letter.

"*Whitehall, Sept.* 7, 1689.

"Sir,

"Dr. Tillotson being removed to the Deanery of Paul's, I must wish you joy of that of Canterbury, which the King has given you. This need not hasten your journey to London (though I should be glad to see you at any time,) because it cannot be perfected till Dr. Stillingfleet be actually Bishop of Worcester. I should be extremely rejoiced to hear you have recovered your health, which no man wishes you more than,

"Your most affectionate, humble servant,

"NOTTINGHAM."

Dr. Sharp was not ignorant to whose interest and application in great measure he must be indebted for this unlooked for favour, as will appear by his modest letter of acknowledgment to his Lordship.

"My Lord,

"Be pleased to accept my most humble thanks for this new instance of your favour and kindness added to a thousand before; and which indeed is extremely surprising to me, because as I did not deserve it, so did I not in the least expect it.

"It is to your father, my Lord, and yourself, that, under God, I owe all that I have in this world. And may I but have the continuance

of your favour so long as I study to express myself thankful for the benefits I have received, I shall never need nor desire any other patron.

"I thankfully accept the place which the King, through your Lordship's mediation, designs for me. And if my abilities to serve God and the church in that post were but equal to my desires, I am sure neither his Majesty nor your Lordship will repent of your preferring me.

"I hope to wait on your Lordship the week after Michaelmas, for then my residence here will be out. I pray God increase his blessings upon your Lordship, and your family. I am, my Lord, with the utmost sincerity, as I have great reason,

"Your Lordship's,
"Most faithful, humble,
"and obliged servant,
"JOHN SHARP."

The next post brought him another letter from Lord Nottingham, to acquaint him that the King had appointed him one of the Commissioners for preparing such alterations and amendments of the Liturgy and Canons, and such *proposals for the reformation of Ecclesiastical courts* as might be laid before the Convocation at their next meeting, and to require his atten-

dance on that commission the 3d of October following.

Upon this occasion, Dr. Sharp returned to London immediately, and having waited on the King, at Hampton Court, and kissed his hand for his new Deanery (being introduced by Lord Chief Justice Holt,) he deferred taking possession of it till he had discharged his trust with respect to the Ecclesiastical Commission; which he attended constantly in the Jerusalem Chamber, so long as it sat.

They who would know what progress was made in this great design, and for what reasons *it proved at last ineffectual*, after great pains taken by the Commissioners, may consult Dr. Nichols, who gives a full and particular account of the proceedings. Only here, let it be remembered, that when the Convocation sat, viz. on Nov. 21st, Dr. Sharp was the person who first moved that Dr. Tillotson might be chosen prolocutor. But it was carried for Doctor Jane; which was thought one principal reason why the Commission itself failed of success.

Dr. Sharp having done his part, and borne his testimony for his friend, went down to Canterbury to be installed; and the necessary affairs of his new preferment, kept him from returning to Convocation till the 14th of December, when it was just upon the point of adjournment. So

that he was present only the first and last days of that session, and consequently had no part in the remarkable debates, and warm contentions which then employed that reverend and learned body.

The next year, 1690, his course of waiting at Court as Chaplain, was in April, when he preached before the Queen at Whitehall, a *casuistical* discourse upon Gal. v. 13.; containing rules for our conduct when we are at a loss to distinguish the bounds of sin and duty, lawful and unlawful, in any action. Which was printed by her Majesty's command. She was likewise much pleased with a sermon he preached before her, during his waiting this month at Kensington, upon the Prodigal Son, and ordered him to print that also; but he made his excuse, and the Queen allowed it. On May 21st, he was called upon to preach before the House of Commons on occasion of the *monthly fast*. This was the third time he had preached before that house.

The summer following, he resolved to visit his native country and his mother, yet living in Bradford, once more; for he had not been down for several years. Accordingly, he spent what time he had to spare amongst his friends there, and at York, where he also paid his respects to Archbishop Lamplugh; little imagining then how soon he should have a much

better claim to visit that country, and York and Bishopthorp in particular.

For soon after his return to London, his Majesty pitched upon him amongst others for supplying the Sees vacated by the *deprivations* of their Bishops. Accordingly, he had two or three of them, or the choice of them offered to him. Norwich, which was thought would be most acceptable to him on account of the friendships he had in that city, was pressed upon him by Dr. Tillotson. But he waved all these offers on account of the dispossessed Bishops being yet alive, with whom he was acquainted, and for whom he bore respect: and as to Norwich, in particular, he declared, that having lived hitherto in great friendship with its Bishop, he could not think of taking his place, but rather chose to continue in his present situation, than remove to more honourable posts under such circumstances as made them no ways tempting to him, or agreeable to his inclinations. But though it appears sufficiently that he disliked succeeding to these vacancies made by deprivation, yet he seemed not at any time to make it a *matter of conscience* with himself. Much less did he take upon him to censure or blame others who took the preferments that were thus voided. He readily went down to Canterbury to elect Dr. Tillotson to the throne of that church where

himself was Dean; and was himself afterwards *consecrated* by Dr. Tillotson, in company with others who succeeded to these vacant Bishopricks. Neither of which had been consistent with his principle, had he thought it absolutely unlawful or irregular to take those Bishopricks in those circumstances. And as to all pretences of separation from the Established Church, on account of these deprivations and successions, he very warmly opposed them. In the mean time, whatever he might think of the matter himself, his Majesty guessed that he made these difficulties purely upon a principle which would not recommend him much to his Majesty's favour. In fine, the King was *not a little disgusted* at his peremptory refusal of those preferments.

And here, in all probability, Dr. Sharp had forfeited all further favours from court, at least in that reign, had not his friend, Dr. Tillotson, (who was concerned and grieved to think of Dr. Sharp's being wholly left out in the new promotion to Bishopricks,) seasonably interposed an expedient for advancing him not only more agreeably to his inclinations, but also quite beyond his expectations; and that was by laying the scheme for his being Archbishop of York, when that See should become vacant. For, on Friday, April 24, 1691, (as appears by a me-

morandum under his own hand,) Dr. Tillotson came to his house in Russel-street, and told him that since he had so obstinately refused taking any of the vacant Bishopricks, he had thought of an expedient to bring him off with the King; that he should not fall under his displeasure. And that was, he should *promise* to take the Archbishoprick of York when it fell, as Dr. Jennison should take Lincoln. This Dr. Sharp readily promised he would, but withal said, that he would not take any advantage of the offer made him; but they should still be at liberty as to the disposal of that Archbishoprick, whensoever it should become vacant, it being sufficient satisfaction to himself that by means of such his declaration or promise, he might stand clear of the King's displeasure. Dr. Tillotson told him, that he had thought of this thing as he came from Whitehall to his house, and since he now understood his mind, he directed him to go and acquaint my Lord Nottingham with it, and if his lordship approved of it, he would go himself and propose it to the King, on the Monday following.

Dr. Tillotson then told him how all the other vacant Bishopricks were designed to be disposed of. And on the Monday, according to his engagement, he acquainted his Majesty with what had passed between Dr. Sharp and himself, and

fixed the thing. And on the next council day, which was on the Wednesday or Thursday following, the King declared in Council who should fill the vacant Sees, and who should succeed into York and Lincoln when they fell.

Thus amply did Dr. Tillotson requite the smaller services that Dr. Sharp had done him formerly; the chief of which was his obtaining for him a residentiaryship at St. Paul's, through his interest with the Lord Chancellor Nottingham.

Within a week after this, viz. on May 5th, Archbishop Lamplugh died; and on the 8th, the news of his death came to town, and that very night a warrant was signed for Dr. Sharp's succeeding him. And this was just a fortnight after Dr. Tillotson had laid and proposed to him this scheme. On the next day, the Lord Nottingham introduced him to kiss the King's hands.

This point being thus secured to him, he went down to Canterbury within a few days, to assist at the election of his friend, Dr. Tillotson, to that See; which no doubt he did with the greatest pleasure. Which having performed, and settled his own affairs at Canterbury, and taken his leave of that church, he returned to town, and in a most affectionate discourse to his own parishioners, he took his leave of them also, having served them faithfully as their mi-

nister for sixteen years, and received very great testimonies of their love and esteem for him.

It was a mighty pleasure to him that his parish fell into the hands of so great and worthy a person as Dr. Scott; the man whom he had singled out of the whole body of the London Clergy, in his private thoughts, to be his successor. How far he was instrumental in procuring this preferment for Dr. Scott is not known. But it is probable he was very much so. For in one of his late fevers, (a distemper he was liable to,) being apprehended to be in great danger, he expressed his earnest desires that his friend, Dr. Scott, might have the charge of his flock; and said, he hoped the Lord Chancellor would think of him for that cure.

On the last day of May, Archbishop Tillotson was consecrated, and he confirmed Dr. Sharp (whose election at York was now over) at Bow Church, on July 2d, and within three days after, viz. July 5th, he consecrated him, together with the Bishops who succeeded to Gloucester, Norwich, and Peterborough. The assisting Prelates were Winchester, Sarum, Worcester, Ely, and Bristol.

The sermon was preached by Mr. Joshua Clark, chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Norwich, from Heb. xiii. 17. "*Obey them that have the rule over you*," &c. The discourse was printed.

The day following, Dr. Sharp did homage. On July 16th, he was by proxy enthroned at York; and on October 5th, he was introduced into the House of Lords, and took both the tests.

Not long after, letters of congratulation were sent him from the University of Cambridge, and from his own college.

PART II.

CONTAINING HIS CHARACTER AS BISHOP, AND HIS PROCEEDINGS IN HIS DIOCESE.

Doctor Sharp was in the forty-seventh year of his age when he was advanced to the see of York; in which he sat longer than any of his predecessors since the Reformation, viz. above two and twenty years.

As this dignity in the church brought him into a new situation of life, and upon a more public stage of action, and drew upon him a multiplicity of business and a variety of trouble commonly attendant on great preferments, engaging him in affairs not only very different from those in which he had been concerned before, but differing from each other, and of distinct consideration in themselves, it will be requisite from this period to make some alteration in the method that has been hitherto taken, and instead of proceeding in order of time, to lay things together according to their subjects, and suitable with their relations to each other; that is, to collect and put together such articles as relate immediately to his *diocese and province;*

and in the next place, such as concern his proceedings at *the court* and in parliament; and last of all, such as have respect only to his *private life and economy.* Which disposition and arrangement of materials into different classes, *ecclesiastical, civil, and domestic* *, seems most convenient, and is preferable to a close prosecution and regular detail of particulars by the dates of years and months; which would necessarily have involved several inconsiderable passages of no other consequence than to preserve connexion and the thread of narration; and would likewise have occasioned several repetitions and recapitulations of points before mentioned;—whereas by methodizing and digesting the materials in the manner above described, not only these inconveniences are avoided, but a much better opportunity is given of forming a judgment concerning the steadiness of his principles, and the uniformity of his practice to them, in the respective capacities in which he is distinctly considered.

That which claims the preference in point of order, is his proper character of a bishop or pastor; under which head will be comprized all the steps that he took, and the rules by which

* This division of his materials is observed by the Author, and corresponds with Part the Second, Part the Third, and Part the Fourth of the Life. *Editor's Note.*

he conducted himself in the regulation and government of his extensive diocese.

At his entrance upon this great charge, he laid down to himself a rule or two of expedience (for they came not within the ordinary and stated duties of his office,) deserving to be mentioned. One was for the encouragement of the clergy, viz. to bestow the prebends in his gift upon such only as were "*either beneficed in his diocese, or retained in his family.* The other more properly respected the laity, viz. *never to meddle or any ways concern himself in the election of members of parliament.* These general rules he followed, though not altogether without an exception, yet with such a *steadiness*, that no solicitations could prevail with him to break through them.

As to the former, it is to be remembered that the main branch of the patronage of the Archbishops of York are the stalls in York cathedral and the collegiate church of Southwell; which preferments though most of them inconsiderable in point of yearly value, are yet (at least many of them are,) well circumstanced in regard of their leased lands and Rectories appropriate, and all of them acceptable promotions to the Parochial clergy, on account of the credit that attends them without any burden or inconvenience. Now these he appropriated to his own

clergy, viz. his domestic chaplains, and such as were already beneficed within his diocese, nor did he in any instance desert this rule, except in the following case, which should be mentioned that the exception may be justified; viz. in the promotion of the Hon. Mr. Henry Finch, (afterwards Dean of York,) to the prebend of Wetwang, one of the best in the church, in 1695; and of the Hon. Mr. Edward Finch to the same stall upon his brother's resignation of it, in 1704. These had been *his pupils,* and were branches of that noble house to which he in great measure owed all that he had; and were the only persons of that family who were in a capacity of receiving the tokens of his gratitude in this way of donation. These two worthy gentlemen being excepted, it will be found that of forty-six stalls which he filled in the two fore-mentioned churches, *and in less than half that number of years,* all were filled agreeably to the foregoing resolution: and that he might observe due proportion in the distribution of these favours among his clergy, he reserved his stalls at Southwell *for the parochial clergy of Nottinghamshire,* where that church is situate;—*those of York for the Yorkshire clergy.* And this disposition he preserved to the last.

It will hardly be supposed but he had many

applications, and some very powerful ones, (as in fact he had,) on the behalf of such clergymen who were not within his rule (as not being of his diocese,) that they might succeed to these prebends as they became vacant. But notwithstanding this was the chief branch of his patronage, whereby he had it in his power to oblige those who interested themselves by their recommendations; and though he might without fear of blame have dispensed these favours to whom he pleased; yet he chose rather to resist all solicitations, and deny all requests, (a thing that went very hard with him, and which he never did without a good reason,) than forego the apparent advantages of this disposition. For hereby he not only provided that the pulpits of those distinguished churches might be more regularly supplied by their prebendaries, among whom the preaching courses in each place are distributed, and particularly that the daily service in his cathedral might be better attended by prebendaries *beneficed and residing in York city*, where he always took care there should be some, (and sometimes there were four besides the residentiaries appointed by statute,) but he also hereby gave proper and seasonable *encouragement to the ministers* of the great and populous towns in his diocese.

For whereas in *large towns the livings usually*

are small, or at least disproportionate to the greatness of the cures, he providently made these dignities in his metropolitical and collegiate churches serve to support the character and credit of the clergy in those places, whereever he found them deserving such encouragement. By which means the chief market towns throughout his diocese, as Hull, Beverley, Leeds, Wakefield, Sheffield, Doncaster, Nottingham, Newark, &c. had by his appointment dignified men residing and officiating in them.

This hath been before publicly taken notice of by Mr. Willis, who, in his Survey of the Cathedrals, speaks of him in these words:

"He made it his unalterable practice to elect them (viz. prebendaries,) out of such as lived in his diocese, and had recommended themselves by doing their duties in their respective parochial cures. By which means no cathedral in England was better attended by clergy, and the service more regularly performed than at York; or the ministers of small livings in any diocese more encouraged to attend their charge; because this good Bishop would reward their diligence by such *compensations*, more especially those in York city, on whose conduct the world had a more especial eye; *hoping his example would influence his successors to take the like course*. Which certainly if other

Bishops had in like manner practised, the dignity of cathedrals would have been kept up as in the primitive times, and we should not have seen several of them so scandalously neglected," &c.

The other rule above-mentioned, which he laid down to himself, was, *never to be concerned in parliamentary Elections.*

It will readily be believed that he could not avoid being importunately applied to for his countenance and interest on these occasions. His interest was as extensive as his diocese, both among laity and clergy. And so it appeared to be, as often as he had occasion to use it for recommending such things as he judged it became him to recommend. But as to Elections of members for parliament, he never could be brought by any applications to intermeddle with them. He looked upon them as having no relation to his office and business; and judged very rightly, that if he concerned himself any ways with them, they would only entail *checks and difficulties* upon him in his episcopal capacity. Whereas, on the contrary, by waving his power and influence, and forbearing to disoblige any persons in these matters, which did not belong to him, he preserved his personal interest and *authority entire* in all those points that related *to his pastoral care.*

It may be more acceptable to the reader to have his sentiments on this subject in his own words. A letter or two of his upon these occasions will sufficiently shew the rule by which he governed himself, and the manner in which he answered the applications made to him on this head. The following letter was wrote by him in answer to the Lady Russel, who had solicited his interest for the Lord Hartington, candidate for the county of York, 1702.

"Madam,

"I had the honour of your ladyship's letter yesterday. In all things wherein I can fairly serve my Lord Marquis of Hartington, your ladyship may be sure I will; but in this instance your ladyship proposes, I cannot without being guilty of great prevarication with Sir John Hay, and Mr. Wentworth, who are both now candidates for knights of our shire at the next parliament, and are both *my old friends*, and to whom I am much obliged. By whom when I have been solicited to appear for them (as I have been by the former several times heretofore, and by the latter of late,) my answer to them has always been, that I thought it very improper for me to meddle in parliament elections, either for the city or county: that I foresaw great inconveniences would come upon

it with respect to myself, and yet I *should do no great good;* and therefore I made it a rule to myself not to be concerned in these matters, unless there was absolute necessity for it, as in the case of a *notorious bad man* that should offer himself, &c. Nor had I ever since I came to this place broken this rule, and for these reasons I begged they would excuse me. But this I would promise them, that though I could not serve them by making any votes for them, yet I would never disserve them by espousing any interest against them. These, madam, are my sentiments; and this declaration I have made to these two gentlemen, and indeed to all others as occasion has been offered. And now I leave your ladyship to judge how I am to behave myself in the matter your ladyship writes to me about. Your ladyship sees I cannot serve my Lord Hartington in the way you desire; but yet you see I am under no engagement to any, and therefore may promise you as I have done to these gentlemen, that though I can make no votes for him, yet I shall make none against him, but leave every one that I converse with to *their own liberty.* But in all other things it will be a great pleasure to me to pay all the respects to his lordship that I am capable of doing.

"I am, madam, with hearty prayers for the

health and prosperity of your ladyship, and all your noble family,

" Your ladyship's most faithful

" And humble servant,

" Jo. Ebor."

" *Bishopthorp, July* 4, 1702."

To the same purpose, he wrote to Sir John Kay, and to others, that " it was his first principle, and long ago taken up, not to meddle with those elections."

And he adhered to his principle with the same steadiness at elections for the city of York; though his interest could not but be very great in that place, on account of his influence over the clergy, ecclesiastical officers, and *tradesmen*. Yet no body had that influence over him as to be able to engage him on either side; though the strongest and most tempting arguments, (such as the *expediency* of his interposing for the *good of the church* established,) were upon some occasions urged to him. When the Duke of Leeds, for instance, in the year 1695, had wrote him word (Sept. 10,) that " it was very certain a new parliament would be called; and it was likely to be of the highest *concernment to the church*, that such members should be chosen as were well affected to it; and that it was the duty of all such to be as active as they could, at that time, in the promoting such elections,

and that his Grace's station afforded him a good opportunity of doing so;" and recommended certain gentlemen for the city of York, and borough of Ripon, where the Archbishop's interest must of course be greatest, and concluded with these words:—"That as the *Dissenters were neither sparing of their money nor their pains to secure their elections* in all counties, if those of the church did not use a little more than ordinary industry at that juncture of time, they might repent it when it would be too late," &c.

He answered my Lord President, (for so the Duke then was) with respect to his interest in York city, thus:

"I can by no means think it fit to appear as a party in the election of city members, that seeming to me, as things are now circumstantiated, both to be to no purpose, and likewise unavoidably to draw such consequences after it, as will render me less capable of doing that service in the city hereafter, which otherwise in my station I might."

And he concludes, in answer to my Lord President's reasons, "Why he should concern himself as a Churchman, &c." thus:

"I have no fear that your Grace will censure me as one unconcerned for the church's good, upon account of my thus declaring my unwillingness to *meddle* in the city elections, because

I am confident my reasons are such, that if you yourself were in my case, you would act as I mean to do. And yet I believe your Grace to be one of the best friends of the church; and upon that account all churchmen have reason to pray for the continuance of your health and prosperity, and none doth it more heartily than," &c.

"*Bishopthorp, Sept.* 21, 1695."

To the same purpose, he wrote again in 1698, when the next election came on, to Alderman Thomson, of York.

"As to matters of election (says he) you know my principle, which is not to concern myself in them, or to appear for or against any person that the citizens of York think fit to propose for their representative, this being *a thing wholly foreign to my province*," &c.

More testimonies of the same kind might be added from his letters upon this head, but these already given are sufficient for the purpose they are brought to answer. Only thus much it may not be improper to add further, viz.: that he made no scruple in the *Borough of Ripon* (where the Archbishop hath a *temporal* jurisdiction) to recommend such candidates as he himself approved of. Here he interposed his interest and authority, and here only; and accordingly he was able to give a more satisfactory answer to

the Lord President about the Ripon election, than he could about York.

"I have done (says he) what I can to secure the election of Mr. Jennings and Mr. Aislabie, (where I think I may and ought to concern myself,) and I hope they will be chosen there in case of a new parliament, without any opposition."

And here it was that Mr. Sharp, his eldest son, did afterwards, upon his recommendation, establish an interest that preserved him in parliament as long as the Archbishop lived: which remark is here subjoined to the foregoing quotation out of his letter, to obviate an objection that might possibly be made to the firmness to his principle about elections, as if he could suffer himself to recede from it where the interest of his own family was immediately concerned. And had he really done so in favour of his own son (who was withal a very deserving gentleman,) the peculiar circumstances of such a case would have made it allowable; but this really was not his motive to recommend to that borough, as appears from the forementioned letter to the Duke of Leeds in 1695, antecedently to any views for Mr. Sharp, wherein he declares that, in his judgement, *he ought to concern himself in that particular borough.* So that the favour he did his son in recommending him to that town, was none other than he had

before granted to other gentlemen, and would have granted to some or other upon every election, if he had not had a son, or any relation to recommend. And it is further to be remembered, that even here, where he did allow himself to move in the elections, he was utterly averse to any methods of *coercion* or *discouragement*, but contented himself with a bare request in favour of the person he approved.

Thus the whole of his conduct with regard to elections, is fairly represented; which, notwithstanding, will probably be variously judged of by those who do, and those who do not enter into those prudential reasons and motives, upon which he proceeded. For if these be duly considered, it will be found to be a conduct *worthy of an Archbishop*, highly acceptable to his diocese, and advantageous to himself; as not only securing to him the interest and esteem of all parties, but enabling him to *do more real service to the public in his station*, than he possibly could have done by being *warm and busy* in elections.

There may be truth, indeed, in what has been observed of him upon this head; viz. that he was not always wary enough to carry the matter so equally between the contesting candidates as never to discover his own *inclination* as to the issue of the dispute. He had, as all men

must have in the like cases, his reasons for preferring in his private thoughts, some before others; and wishing success to one rather than another. And as he was always of a frank open temper, and never studied artful reserves, it is likely he might not conceal a propensity of regard and favour (when he had it) for one more than another. But what is meant by his adherence to this rule is this, that he never interested himself by requests, or by his agents, or by his letters. He neither used his own authority, nor suffered his name to be used on these occasions. He left all his Clergy, and all his officers and dependents, as well as his friends and acquaintance, at their full liberty to act as they pleased. He neither gave them any previous encouragement, or used any dissuading motives to bias them, *nor shewed any after dislike* on account of their following their own inclinations in election matters.

It was no doubt a great satisfaction and pleasure to all his Clergy, that notwithstanding the influence he had over them, they were left free to vote always according to their own discretion, or their several private obligations, without fearing their Diocesan's displeasure, or any resentful or discouraging consequences from him of so doing. And it was, likewise, an instructive and noble pattern set to them all,

not to busy themselves in their own parishes with election matters; to their own hurt and detriment, in their pastoral capacities.

For the same reasons of prudence, which restrained him from making or soliciting votes on such occasions, are equally prudential in the parochial clergy, who cannot but have better purposes in view, to which they may employ the interest they have in their parishioners, than in promoting or supporting private or party interests. Not that the doing this is any otherwise exceptionable, than as it draws (which it seldom fails to do) resentments and inconveniencies upon themselves, which render them less serviceable than otherwise they would be in their respective cures. It is so natural for a man who obliges his minister with his vote, to expect in return for the favour, that his own irregularities (such especially as elections draw him into) should be connived at; and so natural for one who is in a different interest from that of his minister, to interpret the most just reprehensions, or the kindest cautions from him, as the effects of mere spleen and party resentment; that it seems a most difficult and almost an impracticable thing for a clergyman to engage openly in an election, *without lessening and impairing his credit and authority as a pastor.*

Experience proves this reasoning good.—Wherever a parish minister interests himself deeply in such an affair, though he may by his zeal and activity oblige some persons, and perhaps finds *his account* in doing so, yet he may be sure to *gain no credit.* And in what other respects he is a loser, though less known, yet may very easily be imagined by any one who considers the necessity there is he should appear disinterested, and stand clear of the imputation of worldly views, if he would preserve a due influence over his people. When the best construction is put upon his proceeding, it will scarce reconcile him to those whom he hath disobliged: and whatever his own reasons or motives may have been, he shall be commonly thought (and perhaps be the only man in the whole neighbourhood who shall be thought so) to have been meddling with matters that did little belong to him, and least become his character and function. The laymen, how readily soever they will cry up the interests of the clergy, while they are on the same side, do as readily reflect upon their conduct, when they are against them. And the liberty of the censure being equally taken on both sides of the question, it is the *sure lot of the clergy, especially such as signalize themselves, to be the greatest sufferers;* that is, to be the most

sharply inveighed against, and the most indifferently defended.

And experience equally shews how highly expedient their moderation and reservedness on these occasions, prove to themselves and their affairs. Certainly this may be collected from the success of the Archbishop's conduct with respect to elections, which gave occasion to this digression. For, by this means, he was honoured with the joint respects and compliments of all the candidates for city or *county*. All the gentlemen, however divided in their election interests, yet agreed in this, to pay their friendly visits together at Bishopthorp. Which preservation of harmony on such occasions, between contending parties and himself, who espoused the interests of neither of them, appeared most agreeable to all persons, whether interested in the contest or no.

Once he was *sole arbitrator* for compounding some family differences between two gentlemen, who were at the same time warmly engaged against each other upon an election; yet he moderated matters between them with so much address, as to prevent their election heats being any bar to their ready compliance with the terms of his arbitration, which had been in vain attempted, had he concerned himself or his interest on either side in the election. And more

than once he took upon him *privately to reprove*, and to write letters of monition to Members of Parliament within his diocese; which were equally well taken, and kindly acknowledged by those gentlemen: whereas it is easy to guess what had been the effect of this liberty he took, if he had ever engaged himself in soliciting votes, contrary to those gentlemen's interests. These advantages, arising from his prudence and forbearance in these matters, might easily be proved by testimonies, were it not convenient to suppress particulars for their sakes who were immediately concerned.

One short observation more shall conclude this head. It is, that this conduct of his with respect to elections, served him for a justification of himself when misrepresented as an abettor of a faction. Lord Godolphin taxed * him one day upon report, with being "one of those who made a noise and a cry about the Church being in danger." He replied, that "he ought not to be charged with that, for he had declared often, that he did *not much apprehend the Church was in danger;* but that it was a struggle between Whig and Tory, who should be upper-

* Diary, October 26, 1705.—This was soon after the meeting of the new Parliament, when Lord Godolphin, as Bishop Burnet says, began to declare more openly than he had done formerly, in favour of the Whigs. Vol. II. p. 426. *Author's Note.*

most, and he believed neither of them meant any harm to the Church." And then he asked my Lord Treasurer, *whether his lordship had heard that he had made any bustle about Parliament-men?* A very pertinent question at that junction, considering the vehement struggles of the parties throughout the kingdom at an election just before*.

The Earl cleared him of that imputation, which was a better proof of his not having any such apprehensions of the Church's danger, as were suggested, and of his not being agitated by party zeal, as was rumoured of him, than any verbal remonstrances he could have made in his own vindication.

More will be said hereafter, both of his principles and conduct in party matters.—To proceed at present in the account of *his Episcopal acts.*

He took early and extraordinary pains to

* Bishop Burnet gives the following account of it.—"The election of members of the House of Commons was managed with zeal and industry on both sides. The Clergy took great pains to infuse into all people tragical apprehensions of the danger the Church was in. The Universities were inflamed with this; and they took all means to spread it over the nation with much vehemence. The danger the Church of England was in, grew to be as the word given in an army. Men were known as they answered it. The Whigs exerted themselves with great activity and zeal."—Vol. II. p. 425. *Author's Note.*

qualify himself for so weighty a charge as he had undertaken, by inquiring into the rights of his See; the state and condition of his cathedral and collegiate churches; the value, endowments, patronage, &c. of the several benefices under his inspection; and, *above all*, the characters, qualifications, and circumstances of the several incumbents within his diocese. His diligence herein, with the effects of it, shall be set forth in two distinct articles.—One, respecting the *Church and its revenues*; the other, respecting the *Clergy and their behaviour*.

As to the former, he had gained so exact a knowledge of the state of his See and of the churches subject to it, as to have drawn up and finished within the compass of four years after his promotion, the following complete and elaborate treatises, whose titles will sufficiently express and distinguish their subjects.

With respect to the Archbishoprick.

I. The ancient franchises, liberties, and immunities of the Archbishops of York, in their estates and lands.

II. The ancient estates belonging to the See.

III. The present estates and possessions of the Archbishop of York; with an account of the pensions, rent charges, and other annual payments and disbursements with which the Archbishoprick is charged.

IV. An account of the ecclesiastical promotions and benefices that are in the patronage or gift of the Archbishop of York.

V. The lives and acts of the Archbishops, from Paulinus, An. 625. This is brought down to his predecessor, Archbishop Lamplugh. And this treatise was made use of, and quoted by Mr. Le Neve, in his *Lives and Characters of the Protestant Archbishops*, published 1720; under the stile of MS. penes John Sharp, Armiger.

With respect to his Metropolitical Church.

I. The history of *York Minster*, from An. 627.

II. The ecclesiastical estates, revenues, liberties, and jurisdiction of the cathedral church of York; with an account of the dignities and offices thereto belonging, ancient and present; and of the foundations, endowments, and rentals of the several prebends now enjoyed therein.

With respect to his *Collegiate Church, at Southwell*, in Nottinghamshire.

A short history of it, with an account of its state and government, both before its dissolution, and since its refoundation; and of the foundations, earlier and later, of the sixteen prebends there, with their estates, endowments, and annual rentals.

But the largest and most useful work of all, was that which related to the possessions and revenues of his Clergy, with an account of all

the parochial churches and chapels, whether under ordinary or peculiar jurisdiction within his diocese; the value of the benefices, what rights were lost, and what preserved; in what hands the patronages were, and the impropriations and appropriations, and whatever else could be learnt of them useful to be known. *This notitia of his diocese,* as he called it, he distributed into four volumes folio, according to the division of the four Archdeaconries.—These were left at his death by his executors to the use of his successors*

* He was greatly assisted in all these collections by some MSS. lent him by Mr. Torr at that time, and which, by a composition with Mr. Torr's widow some years after, came entirely into his own possession. Concerning these MSS. there is a passage in the preface to the History and Antiquities of York, in these words:

"This almost invaluable treasure was *given* to the Dean and Chapter's Library by the executors to the last will of the late Archbishop Sharp. No doubt the worthy sons of that very eminent Prelate imagined they had an unquestionable right to make this present. I shall not enter further into this affair, which by the good Archbishop's death, and other persons concerned, is now rendered *inscrutable.*

"Yet this I may venture to say, that there never was a *quantum meruit* paid to the Author's relict or his heir for them." See Mr. Drake's preface.

This ingenious writer seems not to have been aware that his worthy father, Mr. Francis Drake, Vicar of Pontefract, in whose neighbourhood, at Sugdal, Mr. Torr died, in July 1699, came soon after that gentleman's decease to the Archbishop,

Then, as to the Archbishop's other enquiry, viz. into the *qualifications and behaviour of his clergy*, as it was wholly designed for his own information and use, so it was very cautiously and privately prosecuted.

And whatever notices he received about them, with which he feared to trust his memory, and

with a generous offer from Mrs. Torr, the widow, of her husband's MSS. *as a present.* But the Archbishop, after proper acknowledgments made of her kind intentions and obliging offer, told Mr. Drake then, and afterwards repeated it by letter, that it would not be right in him to accept of them *gratis.* But if she would likewise accept of a present from him (which he named,) and could not dispose of them to more advantage (for he would not be an hindrance to her making the best of them); he would, on this condition, accept them from her. A copy of the Archbishop's letter to Mr. Drake, which is wholly on this subject, will be found entire in the Appendix I. No. 4.

Mrs. Torr having kept the MSS. near twelve months after this letter was wrote, and finding she could not dispose of them better, sent them to the Archbishop, *who gave her more than he had promised her for them,* though they were of little use to himself then, having some years before extracted from them all that he wanted.

This may be sufficient to clear up, in good measure, this "*inscrutable affair*;" and perhaps to the satisfaction of the Author of the Antiquities, &c. who hath expressed so much respect, both to the Archbishop and his executors, in his short remonstrance of an insufficient compensation to Mr. Torr's family, that it cannot be doubted he will be pleased to see them stand clear of all blame in this matter.

of which he thought fit to make memorandums, he committed to *short-hand*, either in his diary, or in loose papers, which latter, when he had made that use of them that he designed, he usually *destroyed*.

Perhaps no man in his station was ever more inquisitive into the characters and conduct of the Clergy than he was, or made a *kinder* or *better* use of the notices he obtained. He never censured or complained of any of them *till he had heard them*; and he always was so open and free as to tell them whatever he had heard amiss of them, and to *give them an opportunity of clearing themselves*. If the things reported or signified to him, were apparently to the disadvantage and hurt of their characters, and could not conveniently be connived at till he should happen to meet with them, he either wrote himself to them, or sent for them to attend him, according as the matters he had to acquaint them with might best be delivered. If he found any of them upon examination blameworthy, he was very frank and solemn in his admonitions, (and how happy he was in discharging this part of his office, we shall see hereafter;) if they acquitted themselves, they found from him all favour and encouragement.

By this means *he knew his Clergy*, and understood the worth of the deserving among

them, which often proved an advantageous circumstance to them. For he seldom failed to remember them when it came in his way to do them service; and some of them who had no claims or pretences in the world to his favour but their good preaching, unblameable lives, and diligence in their callings, were advanced from one benefice to another, partly by his own donations, and partly by his interests with others, till they met with some rewards suitable to their merits; and to his private bounties and pecuniary succours, (where such were agreeable, till he could assist them in some other way,) they were frequent and considerable debtors, as will be more particularly shewn in another part of this work. Here let it only be further observed, that he guided himself in dispensing his favours to his Clergy, *not by their political principles, but by their moral characters and parochial labours.* When once a man had qualified himself according to the laws, and behaved himself modestly, and discreetly, and industriously in his station, he was entitled to his favour and service, as opportunity offered, although he were reputed to be of different sentiments from himself in point of politics.

There are several instances of his preferring such persons himself: and possibly no instance to be given, in so many years as he presided in

this diocese, where he either discouraged or rewarded any clergyman, purely for his being of this or that party, but from some nobler consideration. *He considered them in the relation they bore to the Church and himself,* and not according to their interests in private families and parliamentary elections. If, indeed, they went inconsiderately so far in their politics as to do any thing disreputable to their function, then they came within his consideration as partymen; and which side soever they espoused, were pretty sure to know his sentiments of their way of proceeding. For the example which he set himself, gave him sufficient authority to reprove upon such occasions.

He was curious to know, as far as he could, their talent in the pulpit; and omitted no opportunity that offered itself of hearing them preach. His cathedral, to which he resorted three times a-week, (viz. on the Litany days,) for several years after he came to the See, though he lived two miles out of the city, served him well for this purpose. For in that church, besides the preaching courses distributed among the Prebendaries and Archdeacons, on all the Sundays and holidays in the year, there are sermons likewise on every Wednesday and Friday in Advent and Lent. So that during those seasons, at least, he had an *opportunity of hearing*

three sermons a-week from different hands. But as all these turns in the Minster were chiefly supplied by the members of it, the Prebendaries or Vicars-Choral, that he might also exercise and know the talents of the *City Clergy,* and those of the *neighbouring parishes,* he set up an Evening Lecture, to be preached on every Friday, at All Saints' Church, in the Pavement.

He entered himself into the combination, and *took his turn among them.* This lecture was opened in 1693, the second year of his residence in his diocese, and was kept up with a large resort, chiefly of the Clergy in and about York, till the year 1707. During which whole time he attended almost constantly while he resided in the country, and brought thither preachers at length from all parts of his diocese. By which he had not only a better knowledge of their several abilities, but an *opportunity of improving them by his advice,* which he would freely give them when he judged it would prove useful. If there were any thing in their composures or stile not well suiting the pulpit, or remarkably unacceptable in their tone or manner of delivery, he would kindly caution them to avoid it in their preaching, and give them proper directions how to do so. That this was one great use he made of his attendance on this lecture, appears from his constantly mentioning

in his diary the preacher's name, and generally with some short remark upon the discourse, or upon the man that made it; and sometimes minuting the notice he had taken to the preacher himself, of what had been said, or the manner of saying it. Twice, indeed, he was so displeased, or rather provoked, as he observes, with the sermon, that he durst not venture at that time to talk with the preacher, lest he should not sufficiently command himself; and therefore chose to express his displeasure and resentment by withdrawing, in a way that was not usual with him. The persons, it seems, called up to preach, being as much strangers to him as he was to them, *thought to approve themselves to him by the bitterness of their invectives against the Dissenters.* A conduct that was odious in his sight. "Mr. —— preached (says he) so furious a sermon against the Dissenters, as I never heard the like. I went out of the church before I came into the vestry, because I knew not how to behave myself towards him." In all his diary, (where he minutely sets down *all the little heats he was occasionally put into*) there does not appear more than one other instance where the provocation had so strong and visible an effect upon him: and that was when the like case happened again at this lecture, and an indiscreet hot man,

instead of preaching, "*railed at the Dissenters,*" as he words it. The prostitution of the pulpit to such unworthy ends, was a thing he could not endure; nor the men that were guilty of it.

He set an *excellent example* to his Clergy himself, both of the true *manner of preaching*, and of *diligence* and frequency in it. In the first years that he spent in his diocese, and was yet in his full strength and vigour, he rarely omitted preaching every Sunday. Insomuch, that by a computation made some years after he was Archbishop, how often he had preached since his consecration, he found that one year with another, he had preached once a fortnight. His way at York was to hear the sermon at the Minster on the Sunday morning, (and sometimes in the absence of the Prebendary appointed, to take his place,) and to *preach one in the afternoon at some or other of the parish churches in the city, or in the neighbourhood.* And wherevér he was on Sundays, *within his diocese,* he preached once, if not also twice. Towards the latter part of his life, indeed, he could not attend so constantly at sermons, nor preach them so frequently as is before mentioned. But he never remitted either of them so far as not to be an example to his Clergy in preaching, and to the *Laity for attendance upon sermons.*

He always had a great opinion of the effects

of good sermons, viz. wherein the *fundamental doctrines* of religion were *laid down distinctly*, and *clearly disentangled* of the controversies about them, and wherein the *practical duties* of Christianity were pressed *warmly* and *affectionately*. When such discourses came from a man of a *good life*, and one who in all other respects shewed a real concern to make people better, he judged them of great consequence in reforming the world, and promoting true piety and virtue; and therefore it was a principal branch of his pastoral care, to engage his Clergy in the study of this point, to make themselves *useful* preachers; and he took all occasions of exhorting them to it, and instructing them in it.

There were two seasons in particular, when he used to enlarge upon this topic, viz. at his *Ordinations* and at his *Visitations*.

The first he held regularly at all the stated times, when he was in his diocese. And as it was a business of the greatest weight and consequence that appertained to his office, he used the properest means to *qualify himself* for the discharge of it. He usually repaired privately to his chapel to beg God's presence with him, and blessing upon him, or, to use his own expression, *to implore the guidance of his Spirit in that work*. He measured candidates for orders,

more by their modesty and good sense, and the testimonials of their virtue, *than by their learning*. To have a right notion of the main doctrines of religion, to understand thoroughly the terms of the new covenant, both on God's part and on man's; and to know the reasons, and *apprehend the force, of those distinctions upon which the Church of England explained and stated those terms differently from the Church of Rome and other communions separating from her*, were with him the chief qualifications for the ministry in regard to learning.

He had often found and lamented a deficiency as to these parts of knowledge, in persons *otherwise of good learning and abilities;* whom he was obliged sometimes to remit to their studies, that they might make themselves better masters of this most necessary knowledge for a clergyman. He *directed* them in such cases, how and where to apply themselves for the attaining it. And if they were unable to provide themselves with the proper helps, he would *give them some of the best books* for their instruction, and tell them, if they came to him again with this proof of their diligence and improvement, that they appeared well versed in those books, he would then no longer scruple to put them into the ministry. Others there were, on whom, when he could not ordain them on account of their

insufficiency, he took so great compassion, on account of some peculiar circumstances of their misfortune, though they were otherwise unknown to him, and independent of him, that he *entertained them in his own family* till they were so instructed, that he could satisfy himself they might be put into holy orders.

To return: he laid hold on these occasions, when young men were first engaging themselves in the work of the ministry under his fiat or commission, to lay before them with great solemnity, and with an authority that became him, and carried more than ordinary weight with it at such times, "of what mighty concernment it was, that they who took upon them this profession, should do their duty. And what horrible consequences must ensue, if they who had the preaching of the Gospel intrusted with them, either did not preach it at all, or preach it negligently, or preach it unfaithfully, or did any way, either by their life or doctrine, hinder the belief and entertainment of it among those they were to serve."

He told them, "The charge they were now taking upon themselves was such, as even the best qualified men, both for learning and piety, in the primitive times, *have trembled at, when they considered of it.* That they were now to be made stewards of the mysteries of Christ,

the ministers of reconciliation between God and man; to preach that Gospel by which men shall be saved or damned eternally; and to administer those *sacraments which are the keys of the kingdom of heaven.* That the best of men, the most learned, the most virtuous, the most pious, were not sufficient for these things; yet so gracious was God, that he did accept the endeavours of all honest men, who do in sincerity the best they can for his service; but then it did infinitely concern them to do the best they could; to apply themselves seriously to the work to which they have given themselves up, and to make *that their business which they had made their calling;* assuring them, that it was a calling of so much employment, that if they meant to discharge it with a good conscience, they would not *have much room* for the prosecution of any other. He begged of them to read the Scriptures constantly, to study them closely, and to take to their assistance such other good books as might tend towards making them masters of their profession, and enable them to give an answer to every one that asked them a reason of the faith which they held; and to give evidence to all they conversed with, that in point of learning and knowledge, they deserved the character they bore."

As to their preaching, he gave them some lessons very seasonable and proper for new beginners, viz. "not to pump for witty expressions, not to study the ornaments of language, not to shew their reading or learning in the pulpit any otherwise than by *good sense and strong and plain arguments*. To remember always they were doing God's work, and not man's; and therefore to endeavour always to approve themselves to their Master, and not to seek honour of men. To make it their business to do good to their hearers, by *preaching to their consciences;* telling all people of their duty, representing to them the Christian religion faithfully, and declaring to them *impartially the conditions of acceptance* with God, and to do this without fear or favour. But if they took other ways, or had other views in their sermons; if they taught any other doctrines than what our Saviour had commanded, or misrepresented those doctrines which he had taught; or if they did the work of the Lord negligently, and were not solicitous in using their endeavours, that the people committed to their charge should profit under their ministry, what account would they give of their stewardship."

What he added about their being careful *to preach every day by their good life and conversation*, (which he said was *a constant sermon,*) shall be

omitted here, being to the same purport with the extracts following out of his charges at his ordinary visitations, which were the other and more public occasions that he took of putting all his clergy in remembrance of what they owed to God, and the Church, and the honour of their order.

These charges were weighty and pathetical, suitable to his gravity and the solemnity of those meetings. He always insisted on the same topics, though he diversified a little the manner of his address to his clergy. The main strokes and substance of what he delivered to them at those times cannot be better represented than in his own words and phrases.

As to their lives and conversation, which was his first topic, "He conjured them, in God's name, and as they would answer it in judgment, not only to keep free from scandal, but to shew themselves, upon all occasions, virtuous and *grave*. He told them, that when once they arrived at such a vigorous sense of religion, as would influence their whole conversation, when they did in good earnest so love God, as to make it the *business of their lives to approve themselves to him*, that then they had done a good part of their business, as to rendering their ministry beneficial and successful."

He laid before them, "How very vain it was

to think that any one of their people should mind what they preached to them out of their pulpits; unless they adorned their doctrine by a holy, innocent, and unblameable demeanour. That although they used the best language in their discourses, and the best arguments, and added all the charms of a good utterance, that the best orator could make use of, yet, if their lives and sermons did not comport, their auditors would have an argument against their discourses, so *prevalent*, as to defeat all their arguments against vice and immorality, viz. if *our minister really believed what he talks to us*, he would certainly practise otherwise himself.—Therefore, he besought them, if they meant to do any good in their parishes, to have a care of themselves in the first place; and to let all who heard them, and all who conversed with them, be convinced that they were in good earnest when they talked to them of faith and holiness. To shew the beauty and charms of a Christian spirit in their own modest, quiet, peaceable, and inoffensive deportment; in their unaffected piety, and a goodness to be discerned in all their conversation; to let their people see that there are men who do more than talk of another world, for they do live as if there were."

Another point that he urged to them was diligence in their calling, and application of them-

selves to those things that *immediately* concerned their profession. He exhorted them to be "assiduous in following their studies, and reading good books, and daily improving themselves in all good learning, especially those parts of learning that related to their vocation. He laid before them, how highly "necessary it was for every clergyman to be well versed in those points wherein religion is concerned; that unless they were masters of their profession, they were lost, and the cause of God would suffer by their ignorance and weakness. That the times *would not now bear an ignorant clergyman, whatever they would have done heretofore.* That learning was *become so common,* that they would quickly be found out if they were defective in any part of it; and therefore, for their own reputation and honour, as well as the Church's, he besought them to study good authors, and to use the best conversation they could meet with, and to improve themselves in all kinds of knowledge."

Again as to their *preaching,* he laid down very plain lessons. "That there was a trifling way of preaching, though yet perhaps it might be *elaborate* enough; of which sort were all those sermons wherein the business was to make ostentation of learning, or reading, or wit, or politeness of language; but which, in the

meantime, were not *contrived for the making people good.* And this way of preaching to be sure they were to avoid. He told them as to the choice of their subjects, to take the most weighty points, such as struck at the very root of evil principles and vicious dispositions; such as if a man's conscience be once touched with, it is in a manner impossible for him (if he were *given to think,* and consider,) not to be both a moral man and a good Christian. He was sure that there was so much truth and evidence, so much power and efficacy in our religion, that if it were but faithfully represented, and the arguments of it duly set home upon men's consciences, it would be very difficult for any one who was *not abandoned* by God, not to yield himself a convert to it. He begged of them, therefore, to press upon their flocks the substantial doctrines, and the indispensable duties of Christianity, and the mighty arguments they had both for believing the one, and practising the other: that they would do this very plainly, warmly, and affectionately. That they would do it in such a way that people of the meanest capacities might understand what they said, and that every man who was not wanting to himself might go away from them *either better or wiser.* He told them, if they took these methods, whatever opinion some giddy-headed

people might have of their preaching, yet he would vouch for them, that they were good preachers, and workmen that needed not to be ashamed."

As to *personal residence* upon their cures, which was a topic he never omitted, "He declared to them he did not see how they could satisfy their consciences without it, unless there was some very urgent or reasonable cause to excuse them. He knew not how they could so solemnly take the cure of souls upon themselves (as they did at their institution), and afterwards put all this charge to be executed by a deputy. If they thus did their duty by proxy, it were well if they had *not their reward in the other world in the same way.* Wherefore he besought them, never to think of leaving their benefices, but to live among their people, and set them good examples."

As to their being punctual in *catechising, administering the sacraments,* and *visiting the sick,* and *observing rules and orders according to the rubrics and canons,* he laid his solemn injunction upon them; but withal "desired they would take in good part his freedom, and plainness wherewith he delivered himself, declaring it was not a *humour of talking magisterially* that put him upon it, but a sense of his own duty, and a hearty good will to them; that

he had no design upon earth, but that both they and himself might be good, and adorn the profession to which they were called; and discharge the trusts committed to them, to the honour of their Master, the good of his Church, and the peace and comfort of their own minds."

With these and the like *paternal monitions*, savouring of primitive zeal and simplicity, and delivered with an air of seriousness and gravity which was solemn and affecting, and in some respects peculiar to himself, he addressed his Clergy as often as he held his ordinary *Visitations*.

And it was at these seasons that he took his opportunities of *privately* discoursing with such of them against whom he had heard any complaints, or whom he had any reason to suspect in the least deficient in discharging the duties of their cures.

In what manner he executed this usually ungrateful, yet necessary branch of his office, they best knew who received the benefit of his *monitions in private*. In how frank and ingenuous, in how tender and inoffensive a manner he treated them on these occasions, may in some measure be learnt from a specimen or two of his way of admonishing by letter, when he could not do it face to face.

The following letters were sent upon his re-

ceiving some complaints against the persons to whom they were directed; which he vehemently suspected were just and well grounded, but could not directly charge the parties with them.

"Sir,

"It is very uneasy to me to write to you upon such a subject as I now must. And I am very sorry if you have given me the occasion. It is complained to me, that you have for some considerable time used your parishioners very ill in your performance of divine offices among them. As for sermons, you rarely give them any; and as for the divine service of the Church, you begin it so uncertainly as to the hour, and you perform it so indecently as to the manner, as if you really had a mind to shew your hearers that you are so far out of charity with them, that you do not desire that they should receive any benefit, even by their saying of their prayers.

"I represent the complaints that have been made of you in softer terms than I received them. If there be no occasion for them, I shall be heartily glad of it, and shall readily ask your pardon for giving ear to them. But if they be true, and you do really use your parish thus, what must be thought or said of you? Surely you have lost not only all common discretion, but all sense of that duty which you owe to

our Lord Jesus Christ, and the souls of that flock that he has committed to you; that in revenge of some injury or ill usage you think you have met with from them, you endeavour to deprive them (as far as in law you dare) of all the good that should come to them by your ministry; and not only so, but to force them, if you can, to leave the Church.

"Good Sir, I beg of you that this may be amended, and that I may hear no more of it. If I do, I shall be forced to have articles exhibited against you in Court, and to have the matter brought upon the public stage, which I am very unwilling should be done. I pray God bless you, and give both you and me a serious sense of the duty which is incumbent upon us in our stations.

"I am, Sir, with great sincerity,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"Jo. Ebor."

The next is a more tender letter, and shews how much he laid to heart the *reputed faults of his brethren*, where no formal charge was brought by open accuser.

"Sir,

"I should be failing, both in the discharge of my duty, and in the friendship which I owe to you and your family, if I should not

take notice to you of what hath lately come to my ears, of the new differences, or the old ones revived, betwixt you and your wife; the blame of which is laid at your door. I would gladly believe, that all that is said of you about this matter is not true, particularly the very severe, cruel, and unmanly usage with which, in your passion, you do sometimes treat her, and the just occasions you have given both to her and others, to believe that you are not true to your conjugal vow. These things are so bad, that I should hardly think a clergyman can be guilty of them; none can who is not abandoned of shame, as well as virtue. I am sure none can who hath any sense of his duty to God, or any regard to the honour of the Church, or any concern for the souls of his people, to whom, by such scandalous examples, he doth frustrate all the good effects that his labours ought to have among them, and render his *ministry perfectly ineffectual.*

"I cannot, neither do I, charge you with these things, because I have them only upon report. And I should be very sorry, for your sake, that matters should come to that pass, as to give occasion to any to attempt the proof of these things upon you. But thus far I think myself bound to take notice of these reports, as earnestly to admonish you so to behave your-

self from henceforward, that I may hear no more of them.

"And therefore, as I am your old school-fellow and acquaintance, as I am your friend, and a friend of your family, I do beg of you, I do entreat you, as you have any love for your own *ease and peace*, as you have any concern for your *reputation and your interest*, both which must needs suffer extremely by these disorders in your family; and, which is more than all these, as you have any regard to give a *comfortable account* hereafter to God of your stewardship, either as a Christian or a clergyman; that you would amend these matters, that you would make up the breaches in your family, and treat your wife with all that respect and kindness, with all that love and tenderness, which both the law of Christ and your own solemn promise when you married her, oblige you to do; and that you will seriously consult the common interests both of yourself, and her, and your family, by making every one's life about you as easy and as comfortable as may be; by minding your own business, and leaving others to mind theirs; by shewing respect to all, according as in their several places they do their duty; but encouraging none to sow discontents, and make parties among you; and, above all things, *being so careful of your own*

conversation, that malice itself should not be able to fix upon you the imputation of any unlawful love.

"Out of the tender respects, Sir, I have to you, as a friend, I give you this *advice*, and should be very much troubled ever to apply myself to you under *another character*. I hope I may have so much interest with you, as to prevail upon you to think seriously of these matters. And if you do, I am sure you will be so far convinced of the reasonableness of my advice, that you will follow it. I do assure you, that I shall be most heartily glad to hear that you do so.

"But if the discontents between you do still continue, and a happy lasting union cannot be made, I do at least expect that you will deal as freely with me as I have been dealing with you, viz. that you will tell me the reason thereof, and what you have to charge her with, that should put an hindrance to this peace, and love, and entire confidence that ought to be between man and wife. And then my request must be to you both, *if you think it fit*, that I may see you together, and hear what each party hath to say. I assure you I shall do it without partiality to either. And this is all I can do by way of friendship.

"I have no more to add, but that I heartily

pray God, to give you both a serious sense of virtue, and honour, and Christianity. And then I am sure you will either have no differences, or they will be such, as nobody but yourselves will know of.

"Your's, &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

He could not have treated his own son in the like circumstances with greater affection or more sensible concern. But this was his way with all, while there were any hopes either of their being wrongfully charged, or their being reclaimed and brought to amend upon persuasion. But if he was fully persuaded of the truth of the allegations against any clergyman, or found that his first admonitions had not their due effect, then he raised his style, and *rebuked with more authority*, intermixing some threatenings.

The two following letters are a specimen of his manner in doing this.

"Sir,

"I am very sorry that I must write to you upon such an occasion as I now do. When I was in my visitation at ....., the other day, I there received great complaints against you for your gross and scandalous neglect of

your cure. I do assure you it is a sensible trouble to me to hear these things of you. I beseech you, for Christ's sake, for your own sake, for your function's sake, let these things be amended. I should be unwilling to use any severity towards you, but if I do not hear that your cure is better served henceforward, and that you live a more sober and regular life, I must and will take care that you shall stay no longer there. I desire you take this my admonition in good part, which nothing else but the sense of my duty, and a concern for your good, and the good of your parish, puts me upon. And be pleased to let me hear of your receipt of this letter, and that you are fully resolved to follow my advice, which will be very acceptable to,

"Your's, &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

ANOTHER.

"Sir,

"I hoped I should hear no more complaints of you, after the admonition I gave you by letter;—but I find it otherwise. I might, I think, without more ado, remove you from that cure, you having no legal title to it, but serving it only by admission. And if I did so, I think I had ground enough for it. But that you may have no colour to complain of hard

usage, I am willing you should have an opportunity of vindicating yourself, if you can. And therefore, I have here sent you a copy of the *petition*. The particulars of which, I mean as to the charge against you, are offered to be made out fully, if there be occasion. What measures are best for you to take in this case, you will do well to consider. If you think fit quietly to recede, there is an end of the business. If you will stand upon your justification, you shall be heard. But then *articles* must be drawn up against you in form, and put into the Court at York; and a time likewise must be appointed for you and your accusers to come thither, they to make out their proofs, and you to disprove them. And if, upon the hearing, these complaints against you appear without grounds, *they will be obliged by the Court to bear your charges;* if they make good the articles, you must expect both to have your admission withdrawn, and *to pay the charges of their prosecution*. I pray let me know, as soon as you can, what you mean to do.

"Your's, &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

When gentler methods did not prevail, he never failed to put in execution those powers which the laws gave him, insomuch that he hath

been charged, in anonymous letters sent to himself, with rigour in his proceedings against his Clergy; though, in reality, he never was severe where he could help it, or without a justifiable cause, and that, too, after all other milder methods had been taken in vain.

A vicious and scandalous clergyman did, above all other things, provoke his resentments; he never found it so difficult to keep his temper as when any such person came before him. It is true, taking all his Clergy together, and considering their number, he had as many valuable and worthy men as could be met with in the same compass, who were an honour to their profession and his diocese; and he was troubled with as few unworthy ones, as could in reason be expected in a country where such scanty provisions were made for the churches, as were in his time; but these few were a great trouble to him, and when he was forced to use severities with any of them, that usage always procured his favour and bounty to their poor innocent families, whom he lamented should any ways suffer for the faults of those who ought to have protected and provided for them.

Had he used his *authority* only over the clergy, or confined his *reprehensions* and *censures* to them alone who were neither of abilities to cope with him, nor in a situation so independent

of him, as to remonstrate openly against any overstrainings of his power, he had shewed rather a spirit of meanness or pride, than a spirit of *discipline* or charity; but he used equal freedom in admonishing and censuring *the laity* of what quality soever they were, when he saw occasion for it. Whenever they gave any *public scandal* by their immoralities, he would make no scruple to *reprimand* them and tell them their faults, either by discourse (when that was feasible) or by letters. And if he apprehended any such persons were likely *to offer themselves for receiving the Sacrament*, when he was to officiate himself either in his cathedral or in any churches of his diocese where he occasionally preached or confirmed, he would take that opportunity of advising them either to clear their characters to him or not be present at those ordinances. And this freedom he would take, when there was occasion given, not only with the chief *magistrate* of his metropolis, but with gentlemen of the best quality, interest, and fortunes within his diocese.

The following letter, written and delivered on one of these occasions, will suffice for an instance of his manner of exercising this discipline.

"My Lord,

"It grieves me to write to you upon such an

occasion as I am now going to mention; because I am sure it will grieve you. And yet I know of no other way of communicating my thoughts to you, with that decency which is due to your character, or that respect I have always, and would always pay to your person, than this of writing, because it is a way that will *make no noise*. It is reported..... and that your Lordship designs to receive the Sacrament at..... next Sunday. Good, my Lord, let me beg of you not to offer it, either then or at any other time, while matters stand with you as they do. I dare say there is none of us but would be most heartily troubled to refuse you the Sacrament, but yet I doubt *we must do it if you offer yourself*. I am sorry I must say this; but I am more sorry for the cause. Be pleased my Lord to accept this testimony of respect, (for I assure you it is meant so) from

"Your humble servant, &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

This letter, as it stands unsupported by any lights to explain it, may seem something harsh, but if the case were better known in all its circumstances it would not appear so. The Archbishop *knew what he was doing;* and it answered his intention; neither did the party admonished break friendship with him on that account.

And indeed he was *happy in making no enemies*, at least none that thought proper to appear so, by his reproofs. He was wont to press his arguments, drawn both from reasons of religion and worldly considerations, with so much tenderness and charity, and would make such handsome apologies for interposing his judgment and advice, that whatever good he might do upon the parties concerned, yet, he never did, apparently, *hurt himself* by his pastoral monitions; but his addresses and expostulations were taken in such good part, that he had generally the justice done him to be thought a real friend by the persons themselves to whom he thus applied himself.

He seldom had recourse, as was before observed, to his authority and powers by law; and never till he had found all persuasion and gentler advertisements vain. But he was not afraid of giving disturbance to persons of good figure among the gentry, if they did not, upon reasonable notice, remove any *scandal that was notorious* in the country.

The following letter was sent by him previous to a prosecution of this nature, which was well enough known at the time it was carried on. But as it may now be in great measure forgotten, the name of the Baronet to whom it was written,

and of the places which might distinguish the case, are purposely concealed.

"Sir,

"It is truly very grievous to me that my first return for the civilities I received from you at.....and which I do thankfully acknowledge, should be a letter of such a nature as I am now to write to you, and which I am sensible must be very displeasing to you, but indeed I cannot help it. I heard so much at.....of your *cohabiting with* a woman that is not your wife, and of the *great scandal* that is thereby given, that I should be extremely wanting to the duty of my place if I should not take notice of it to you: nay, indeed, my silence in this matter would be an argument to the country that I approved of your practice, I having but the day before *publickly admitted* you to the Sacrament, which I must confess I would not have done had I then known so much as I was informed of the day after.

"I have heard what you alledge in your own defence; but it doth by no means satisfy me. Let your circumstances with relation to your lady be as they will (and truly I am informed that on your side they are very pitiable,) yet I cannot conceive how they will ever justify your living with another woman while your lady

is alive; no, nor after her death, without lawful marriage.

"I could heartily wish, Sir, you could be prevailed with to send that gentlewoman away. It would both remove a *great offence*, which, by your keeping her, you have given to the country, and also prevent a great deal of trouble and vexation which will necessarily come upon her and you (and I know not how to help it,) by a prosecution in the ecclesiastical court, if you continue in this course of life.

"I beseech you, Sir, to take in good part what I thought myself obliged in conscience now to lay before you. I assure you I mean it kindly and respectfully, and should be glad of any opportunity of shewing myself,

"Sir,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"Jo. Ebor."

But as neither this letter nor another that he wrote to the same gentleman, on the same occasion, had the desired effect, he ordered a *Citation* to be issued out of the Court for bringing the matter to a judicial cognizance.

To conclude this article concerning his conduct towards *the laity* in his diocese *notoriously* misbehaving themselves; he took care always to be *sure of his charge* before he laid it, and to

put it no *stronger* than he could justify it. He was ever cautious (especially in cases where the gentlemen of the country were any ways concerned,) how and from whom he received informations; and ever backward to give ear to any who had not some proper and immediate right to complain. He was well aware of the difficulties he should bring both upon himself and others should he too easily admit any notices that nearly concerned a man's honour and character, and take any steps upon such advertisements. He always disliked and discouraged, and chiefly upon this account, *the Societies for the Reformation of Manners;* which were begun to be set up within his diocese (as they were in many others) about the year 1697. He was unwilling to check well-meaning people in any design that seemed to tend to God's honour, and the good of mankind, and yet he feared whereunto the liberty that those societies begun to take *would grow.*

As he differed in some measure from several of the other bishops and clergymen in his sentiments of these societies, which for some years made no little noise in the world; it will not be amiss to relate the steps he took, and give the letters he wrote concerning those which were forming within his own diocese and province.

The first account he received of any such scheme taking place within his jurisdiction, was from *Nottingham,* where a society was formed, upon certain laws and rules to be observed by the members: and was quickly grown so considerable, as to propose, ... the having a quarterly *lecture* upon the subject of reformation, at which they invited the clergymen of Nottinghamshire to assist in their turns; who readily promised their assistance, provided the Archbishop approved of it. Upon this the society applied to him, begging his licence for such a lecture, and that he would be pleased to signify his pleasure to Mr. Caryl, a very worthy clergyman and minister of Saint Mary's in Nottingham, whom they had pitched upon to open this lecture. Upon this he wrote to Mr. Caryl in the following manner.

January 29, 1697-8.

"Good Sir,

"I received a letter about ten days ago from some persons at Nottingham, not named, who call themselves "the *Society for Reformation.*" I was a little surprised to find that that which not two months before, when Mr. Ellis first gave me an account of the project, seemed to me but an embryo, should so suddenly be grown into a just body.

"I am no enemy to reformation of manners, (for God knows we too much need it,) nor to any means that conduce to the promoting of sincere virtue and piety, either in ourselves or others. On the contrary, I would to the utmost of my power encourage all lawful expedients that can be desired for the serving of these ends. But as for what is desired of me in this letter, viz. that I would approve and license a quarterly lecture to be preached to this society, I cannot readily give an answer to it, till I be better satisfied about these two things.

"First, whether I can lawfully do it, the resolution of which depends upon this question; whether these kind of fraternities and confederations be allowed by the *laws of this realm and the constitutions of our church.* As to which point I must confess I am not sufficiently clear.

"The other thing I must be satisfied about is, the *rules and orders* of this society at Nottingham in particular.

"These I undertand are not always the same in all the societies that have been of late set up. And what your rules are at Nottingham I am perfectly a stranger to. And yet, methinks, they ought to have been *laid before me,* before I could be supposed capable of giving an answer how far I could concur with what is desired of me.

"As for the first of these points, I must get my

satisfaction as I can. As to the other, the gentlemen of the society are able to give it me, and I hope they will. In the mean time, till I can give a more positive answer, you may please to tell the gentlemen, that, though I *would not have been the first adviser* of such a combination as this is, yet now that they are actually entered into it, and for good ends as I verily hope, they shall meet with no discouragement from me, so long as their methods are regular, and their proceedings *modest, and prudent, and inoffensive.* Nay, further, I shall be ready to give them the best assistance and direction I can, if they think me worthy of being consulted with.

"I could wish that their first lecture, which is designed to be preached by you on the second Tuesday in February, might be put off till I had an account of the constitution of their society, and the laws they have agreed upon. But if these be uneasy to the gentlemen that are concerned, I do not forbid you to preach at the time and place they desire.

"I desire you to present my service to them. I am, with hearty wishes of their and your happiness,

"Sir,

"Your affectionate brother,

"Jo. Ebor."

This letter produced another from the society, dated February 2d 1697-8, wherein they excuse themselves for not informing him before of their rules, &c., and send him a copy of all their orders and votes, &c., which immediately drew a second letter from him to Mr. Caryl, in the words following.

"Good Sir,

"On Friday last I received a letter from the gentlemen of your society, with a copy of their rules and orders. I desire you to return my thanks to them for the civility and respect they are pleased to express to me in their letter, and to assure them that I would be glad to serve all of them, and every one of them in particular, (if I knew them,) in any way that I can.

"I have read over their orders, and that I might be the better able to make a judgment of them, I have compared them with the orders of the London societies as they were given by Mr. Woodward, (whose book I had not seen when I wrote my last letter,) and likewise with the orders framed by Doctor Horneck, and agreed to by the first societies of this kind in London, and by which they have in a great measure ever since been governed.

"Upon this comparison I cannot but observe a great difference between the societies in London

(to which I am told several bishops have given their countenance,) and that lately set up at Nottingham.

"The principal end for which these societies formed in London, was to promote piety and devotion and all christian virtues and graces *among their own members;* and the meddling with others who were not of the society was not thought on till of late, and still it is but a *secondary* end. Whereas the whole business and design of founding this society at Nottingham (as far as I can judge by the orders and rules of their constitution) is to reform others, that are not of the society, by getting the *laws to be put in execution* against them. But as for the reforming themselves, or the improving one another in holy christian living, there is little provision made. I must confess I think it is of a great deal more consequence, both to a man's self, and to the public, that he use all means possible, to be devout, humble, charitable, and (in a word) in all things to live like a christian himself, than to be zealous in *informing against others* who do not live like christians. The first is of certain benefit, both to a man's self and others; but the other may be often both indiscreet and vexatious.

I do not deny that this design of theirs to have the laws put in execution against profane-

ness and immorality is a very good one, and deserves all encouragement. And I myself would inspirit all that I converse with, as much as I could, to contribute all their lawful endeavours towards it in their place and station. But, on the other side, I do not take it to be proper for me, *as a clergyman,* to take upon me either to erect or to authorize any society for this purpose: nor do I think it proper to my function if such societies be set up to do any *episcopal act about them* (as licensing of preachers is an episcopal act), any more than I think it proper to give orders to my clergy about *business that belongs to justices of peace.*

"The truth is, as the society at Nottingham is constituted, it seems to me, they would receive better directions for the carrying on their work, from the *charges* that they may hear from the justices of peace at the sessions, than they can from the *sermons* of the Clergy.

"I observe another difference between your society at Nottingham, and those of London, which is a very material one with me. One of the articles which all those who enter into any of these societies in London are bound to subscribe to, is this; that they declare themselves that they are, or will be, of the communion of the Church of England; that they will frequent the Liturgy; that they will once a month receive

the holy sacrament, &c. Whereas your constitution is, that all dissenters may be admitted into your society, provided they be persons of sobriety and integrity.

"*I am not against the coalition of churchmen with dissenters,* in any matter where they *can go together* in promoting the common cause of religion or good manners. So far from that, I heartily wish them well. And it would be the most pleasing thing in the world to me, if we could all be united in one body. And, in the meantime, while we continue separate, I would have all possible tenderness and kindness shewed to all good men amongst them. But while the laws stand as they do, I do not know how I can, without breach of that trust that is committed to me, come into the project and scheme that the gentlemen of your society have laid down for themselves. You desire me to license a quarterly lecture to be preached to the society. Is it not natural, that those of the society who are dissenters, should also desire a lecture to be sometimes preached *to the society in their meetings?* And can you deny this request of theirs. Is it not reasonable (since you are all on the same *level* as members of the society) that you should comply with them as they with you?

"If now the case be thus, I must profess to you, I can by no means allow any clergyman of

my diocese to preach as a lecturer of this society, because it would be giving an encouragement to the *breaking of those laws* which I hold myself bound in conscience to see observed as far as I can.

"I desire you (good Mr. Caryl), to represent to the gentlemen these difficulties I have upon me. I beg my service to them. I have spoke my mind plainly, and without reserve. If they can so agree among themselves as to come in, as to the main parts, *to the rules* set down by Mr. Woodward or Doctor Horneck (which are to be found in that Doctor's Life, wrote by the Bishop of Bath and Wells), I shall, with some little alterations or additions, comply with them.

"This is writ in very great haste, and I have not time to take a copy of it. And therefore I pray keep it, that I may have it again.

"I am, your's,

"Jo. Ebor."

Thus he quashed the design of a quarterly lecture. And how well he judged of the advantages that the dissenting ministers would make of it, *by claiming to be heard in their turns*, appeared not long after (though not within his own diocese, where he prevented it, yet) in another part of his province, as will be seen hereafter. In the meantime, that he might shew

them how desirous he was to gratify them as far as he could, he allowed that they might have a sermon once in a quarter, provided it was preached by a clergyman of known character and discretion, and also on that day of the week on which the weekly lecture was preached, so that it might pass for one of those courses. And the same liberty he gave to his Clergy in and about Hull, where there was a considerable society for reformation formed, and also a weekly lecture established, as at Nottingham.

Not long after these two societies were formed, viz. in 1699, several persons at York, both of the Church of England, and of the Dissenters, were very zealous to have a society in that city formed upon the same model. But the great difficulty was how to reconcile him to the project. The Clergy were backward, knowing how coldly he received all those proposals; and the dissenters complained of unreasonable scruples in him. Among some of the expressions used to their *corresponding reformers* of the other societies, there were these.

"We do not find the difficulty that we feared. There are several sober men of the Church of England that incline to be active in putting the laws in execution against vice. But how to proceed safely, seems to be the present great objection; for his Grace the Archbishop of York

(whose character is *so well known throughout England*, as needs not my enlargement), expresses such caution of breaking the just and good laws of men, as that he encourages not men's associating themselves in order to inform against vice, least they thereby bring themselves into a præmunire as offenders. We have the promise of a sober, good gentleman..... to take informations from any against immorality and profaneness, and never to discover the informer..... This we know that God can do great things, and wonderful, and we despair not but that he will effect a wonder for York. Poor York; the second city in the kingdom, and likely to be the last in reformation; but better late than never," &c.

It was said "his Grace's scruple must cease, if once his query was but put into plain English, viz. whether it be lawful for private persons to assist the magistrates by informations, &c. to put the laws in execution for the suppressing vice," &c. And that he should not want proper admonitions and advice, care was taken to procure letters from those persons who were presumed to have good interest with him, begging of him to espouse and encourage this pious design at York. In some of the letters he received from men of note, these societies were represented as "the last effort likely to be made for

the *suppressing vice and immorality;* that if this was not defeated, it might be concluded their cause was then desperate. That great weight was laid upon his concurrence; that it was presumed upon, that there could be no place for deliberation, and the like."

But he appears to have made a better judgment at that time of that whole affair, than most other men did, not even excepting some of the bishops themselves, and was not to be prevailed upon to alter his sentiments, without having better reasons given than were offered to him. He wrote several letters upon the subject to such Clergy as enquired after his opinion, not only within his diocese, but throughout his province. But as none of his letters are more full, and better express his sentiments, than the two following, they are for that reason inserted here as his vindication from those partial suggestions that were raised upon his not countenancing the society at his metropolis. The occasion was thus..... The Chancellor of Carlisle, with some other justices of the peace, had set on foot a society in that city, in imitation of many others in the kingdom *into which they had admitted the dissenters.* The bishop of that diocese had been applied to by them for his countenance and encouragement; but was under difficulties concerning the steps he ought in *prudence* to take

upon such their application. Upon which, Archdeacon Nicholson, to relieve his diocesan, consulted his Grace as Metropolitan. And this occasioned the following letter, in answer to the enquiry.

" Reverend Sir,

" I had the favour of your's, which that I did not answer sooner, you must impute to the many affairs of sundry kinds (some of them small enough, but unavoidable) which do here take up our time.

" I myself have always been averse to such sort of confederacies or combinations, whether of clergy or others, as are now on *foot every where;* whether they be those they call religious societies, or those of a later standing, which go under the name of societies for reformation; as doubting whether they be legal in themselves, (though, with submission, I think it may bear a dispute whether they come under those '*conventicles*' which are forbid in the 12th and 73d canons). And apprehending likewise, that some time or other we may feel ill consequences from them. And for these reasons I refused my subscription the last year to that book which was writ for the recommending these societies; though I was earnestly, by letters from two of the bishops, pressed to join my hand with theirs.

"But though these be my *private* sentiments, I find many of the bishops of another mind. Some of them look upon these societies for reformation to be of mighty use. And considering how remiss the magistrates generally are in executing the laws against prophaneness and immorality, they think there is no other way to retrieve that zeal for religion which is every where lost among us, and to promote a reformation of manners, but by such a joint endeavour of well disposed persons.

"And accordingly they do what they can to promote these societies in their respective dioceses. Others of the bishops go not so far, but content themselves to endeavour the regulating and keeping them within bounds where they are voluntarily entered into.

"The truth is, the societies of London have been so industrious in spreading their books, and the success they have had (as they say) in this way, has made such a noise every where, that the whole nation almost hath taken the alarm. And so eagerly in many places are the minds of people set upon these new methods, that it may justly be doubted whether it be in the bishop's power to stifle or suppress these societies, though he should use his utmost endeavours to do it.

"Add to this, that many of the clergy take

encouragement to enter into these societies, from a passage of my Lord of Canterbury's circular letter which was sent the last year to the bishops of his province, though it is certain in that passage he did not intend the setting up such formal associations under rules and articles as are now formed in many places. The passage is in the fourth paragraph, where he says—'It were to be wished that the clergy of every neighbourhood would agree upon frequent meetings to consult for the good of religion, &c. And these meetings might still be made a greater advantage to the clergy in carrying on the reformation of men's lives and manners, by inviting the churchwardens of their several parishes and other pious persons among the laity to join with them in the execution of the most probable methods that can be suggested for those good ends. And we may very reasonably expect the happy effects of such a concurrence from the visible success of that noble zeal, wherewith so many about the cities of London and Westminster do promote true piety,' &c.

"I have transcribed thus much out of that printed letter for fear you should not have it by you.

"Upon these considerations I am thus far come into these projects, that I tell my clergy when any of them apply to me about this matter

(as very lately some of them have done,) that as for their meeting together, as they have convenience of neighbourhood, for the promoting of religion and reformation in their parishes, it is a thing I would advise them to. But as for the societies for reformation that are now on foot in several places, they are *new things*, and for which there is no foundation in our laws and canons; and we do not know what consequences they may in time produce. And therefore I dare not be the author or adviser to any one, either clergymen or laymen, to embark in these projects. Nevertheless being sensible that a great *many wise and good men do approve of these societies, I will not think the worse of any man for engaging in them.* Nor shall these societies meet with any discouragement from me, so long as they keep within the bounds which the laws of the land and of the church have prescribed.

" Letters to this effect I have written to some of my clergy who consulted me; but I must confess I came *not to this degree* of compliance till after a great deal of discourse with several of the bishops.

" What my Lord Bishop of Carlisle will think fit to do in the present case of the Chancellor must be left to his own prudence, which I know is very great. I must confess I dare not advise him. Only this I believe I may say, that I

think that he will have gained a *good point* if he can *prevail with Mr. Chancellor to quit his dissenting associates;* and if he be resolved on a society for reformation, let only such be taken into it as are hearty churchmen.

"Sir, your affectionate servant,

"JO. EBOR,"

"*Feb. 27th*, 1699."

Upon the receipt of this seasonable letter, the Bishop of Carlisle (as the archdeacon acquainted his archbishop in his answer a few days after,) being now delivered from his perplexities, resolved upon the following expedient, both for the direction of his clergy, and for the effectually preventing any further solicitations from the members of the society. He drew up a paper which he dispersed in his diocese, wherein he recommended to his clergy to promote the good ends of *his Majesty's late proclamation*, not only by their sermons, but by their voluntary meetings and conferences, or other *methods allowed by the canons of the church*, and *laws of the land.* That they would in these conferences (if they saw it necessary,) request the assistance of such *justices of the peace*, or other persons of note and gravity as might best forward their good designs, provided they were well affected to the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church.

In the meantime the Chancellor sends the Archbishop a copy of the rules and orders of the society at Carlisle, and apologizes very handsomely for himself, and the rest who were concerned with him. And Archdeacon Nicolson gives him an account of an *usual agreement at Brampton*, in the same diocese, between the neighbouring *clergy and a dissenting minister*.

To both which he answers in the following letter to the Archdeacon.

" Good Mr. Archdeacon,

" I hope by that time I received your second letter, my answer to your first had reached you. I believe you will not think me too favourable to these new societies, but in truth, as the state of things is among us, I do not yet find reason to alter my sentiments.

" As for that you mention at Brampton, where the vicars have obliged themselves to take their turns with the minister of a dissenting congregation at a weekly lecture; if the meaning of that be that they are to take their turns in *preaching at his meeting*, or that he is to take his turn in preaching at their churches, or lastly that they *are to go and hear him preach in his turn at the conventicle*, I say, if any of these things be meant in that article (and what other meaning it can have I cannot find out,) I think the thing

ought not to be suffered, but they should be admonished to forbear such practices; being directly *contrary to our constitution*, and to the engagements they are under to preserve it.

"Since my last to you I have seen a copy of the articles which your society at Carlisle have subscribed, and upon which it is founded. I dare now speak a little more positively to this matter than I did before.

"I must confess if a society was entered into at York upon these articles, I should neither give the members of it any *disturbance nor any discouragement*. I should only wish that those of the clergy who joined in it would add an article or two more, whereby they should more particularly oblige themselves to the reading of prayers on Wednesdays, and Fridays, and holidays, or in populous towns every day, unless they were hindered by some urgent business. *Secondly*, to the holding monthly communions in their parishes, and *lastly* to the diligent attendance upon catechising and instructing the youth of their parishes in the principles of Christianity. The practice of which things will in my poor *opinion more contribute to the promoting a reformation, than the informing against criminals*, though that is a good work too.

"Sir, I have freely given you my sense about the matters of your two letters. I am, with

sincere respects to my Lord Bishop, and to yourself,

"Sir, your very affectionate,
"Friend and servant,
"Jo. Ebor.'

"*March 5th*, 1699."

The archdeacon made a very good use of this letter with the clergy about Brampton, he convinced them of their error, and prevailed upon them to break their combination.

It appears from these letters, and indeed from his whole conduct with respect to these societies, that he was as unwilling to oppose any useful or commendable designs as to give encouragement to any uncanonical proceedings; the scheme of reformation which seemed in his opinion to bid the fairest for success was, that all they, whether of the clergy or laity, who undertook to promote it in others, should lay out their labours first of all in amending themselves; and that till they became exemplary men in their persons, they were not *duly and sufficiently qualified* to attempt the reformation of a degenerate age. This was the great labour of his own life, to grow better and better every day; which he thought of all others the most likely means to render a man truly serviceable to the interests of religion, and a public bless-

ing to his country. Whosoever compares this his judgment or principle with *Cardinal du Retz's* determination of his own conduct upon his promotion to the Archbishopric of Paris, will see how widely different were their respective sentiments and resolutions*. The one thought that in point of *mere prudence or worldly policy* (all other considerations being abstracted,) it was doubtless more safe and more effectual for serving the ends of his profession and calling, to counterfeit godliness and virtue, than to practise them in reality; and to guard against *the appearances of evil rather than against the thing itself*. But the other judged that the reformation of mankind was not to be effected by *arts* and *human subtleties*, or otherwise than by the real practice as well as profession of godliness; that not only the merit, but in great measure the *capacity* of being instrumental in that work, was lost in one who did not conscientiously

* "Je pris apres six jours de reflexion le parti de faire le mal par dessein, ce qui est sans compareuson le plus criminal devant Dieu, mais ce qui est sans doute le plus sage devant le monde.——Voila la sainte disposition avec laquelle je sortis de St. Lazare. Elle ne fut pourtant pas de tout point mauvaise. Car j'avois pris une ferme resolution de remplir exactment tous les devoirs de ma profession, et d'etre aussi homme de bien pour le salut des autres, que je pourvois être mechant pour moimeme."—*Memoirs du Cardinal de Retz. Vol. I. Liv. 2. p.* 61. 8*vo. Armst.* 1719.

strive to be himself what he proposed to make others. And therefore he frequently repeated this lesson to his clergy, that the main part of their business as pastors was to be themselves sincerely and *substantially* good: that if they were so, and withal were punctual in observing the rules prescribed them in the *rubricks and canons*, they took the most certain and effectual methods to render themselves *useful* in *their ministry*, and eminently serviceable, *under God*, to the cause of Christ and his religion. And therefore his principle aim in the choice and designation of persons for the service of the church (so far as that fell to his share and became his immediate concern,) was to find out those whose private lives and characters did best correspond with this idea of a successful pastor, viz. that he himself be a true and faithful servant of God.

Thus it is observable when he recommended clerks to patrons, the sufficiency of their learning was but one, and the *least material* part of their character. He laid the main stress upon their *life* and *temper*, and thought himself secure in warranting a person of *regular life, right honest, and well tempered*, to be a *good parish minister*. In large and populous towns indeed, where a greater degree of *learning and prudence is usually necessary*, he was careful to have regard to those

qualifications *also*, as well when he recommended to others as when he received recommendations from them, always endeavouring to fill vacant livings with such persons as were sufficiently qualified to answer the *particular wants of the respective cures*. Which was a point that he had more regard to than any considerations of *favour, friendship, or interest*.

But how justly soever this rule in disposing of church preferments will approve itself to all considering people, yet it is easy to conceive that his adherence to it would be interpreted by some as an humoursome unreasonable delicacy, and would draw upon him when he refused to prefer clerks that were recommended to him, *difficulties if he concealed his reasons*, and complaints and *greater difficulties if he gave them*. The following instance will shew both his address and temper on such occasions.

The Duke of Leeds had recommended him a clerk (one who was already beneficed in the diocese of York by the duke's own presentation,) for one of the most considerable cures in the county, in the Archbishop's gift. But as he was *most* careful and conscientious in the choice of persons to serve in those places which were under *his* patronage, so he found it necessary to desire that the duke would not lay his commands upon him in this particular, giving for

his reason that *he much doubted whether the person recommended to him had all the qualifications necessary for the discharge of so great and so difficult a post.* Upon this he was civilly called upon by the duke, but not altogether so civilly by the clerk, to declare what he meant by that doubt with which he had excused himself from granting the favour that had been asked.

To the duke he wrote thus.

"My Lord,

"Since your Grace commands me to explain myself as to what I wrote about Mr. ———, I will do it sincerely.

The things that lay uppermost in my mind, when I said that I was afraid that he had not all the qualifications necessary for the discharge of such a post, were these two. I thought that town needed one of a higher *form of learning and prudence*, than in my opinion Mr. —— was. And besides, being a town much given to *good fellowship*, I was afraid, if he came thither, he would be exposed to too much temptation that way.

"This, my Lord, is all I meant by that expression, and I hope it will do him no prejudice with your Grace, or hinder him of any preferment you designed him. And I hope likewise,

that since your Grace obliges me to write thus freely, that *it is to yourself only that I write.*

" I am, my Lord,

" With the greatest respects, &c.

" Jo. Ebor."

To the clerk he answered in these words.

" Sir,

" I received your letter, which I had answered sooner, but that I had a great deal of other business upon my hands. As to the synodals, I leave it to yourself, both to pay what you please of them, and when you please; *for I am not used to be hard* upon the Clergy in those matters. Though, in strictness of law, you may be called upon for those that were due in your predecessor's time, as well as those that have become due since you came to the living; they being, like the King's tenths, chargeable upon the rectories and vicarages; so that whoever is incumbent is liable to all arrears. But far be it from me to make any such demands.

As for the complaining part of your letter, I will give you a short answer to it. I did express my unwillingness to comply with the duke's request on your behalf; not upon account of any unkindness, or ill will to you (as God knoweth I have none), but purely because it

was my opinion (as it is of others also, who have known you better than I can pretend to do,) that ..... was neither a fit place for you, nor you a fit man for it.

" Now, if this was my opinion, why might I not say it, especially when I was under a kind of necessity of giving some reason for my refusal of what his Grace had moved to me?

" But you call this a crimination, a drawing up a charge against you. I wonder why you should do so. What have I accused you of? What crime have I laid to your charge? I dare say there are an hundred clergymen in this diocese, of whom I know no ill, and therefore to be sure would not *charge them with any;* nay, whom I believe to be very good men, of whom yet, if they were candidates for ..... I would not scruple to say, that I am afraid they had not all the qualifications necessary for the discharge of so important and difficult a post.

" As for what you desire, that I would give you a particular account of what qualifications I think you want for that place. *I do not think it a proper argument for a letter.* But, if you will give me an opportunity of talking with you, I will sincerely tell you my whole heart about this matter, and what my reasons were of my so expressing myself to the Duke of Leeds. In

the mean time I am, with hearty wishes of all good to you,

"Sir, your loving friend, &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

Great was the *mildness of this answer*, considering the style of the letter to which he replied, and the temper of the person he wrote to. But it is a genuine specimen of that courtesy which he shewed to all, how differently soever they might behave towards himself. He was not easily thrown off his bias, or put out of his naturally sweet temper, though, at the same time, he was not to be diverted from steadily pursuing the rules he had laid down for his own conduct in the discharge of his office.

He was observed to act so conscientiously and cautiously in the choice of fit persons to serve in the Church, that sometimes the patrons of livings, who were well acquainted with him, would refer the designation of the clerk, upon a vacancy, entirely to himself. And this not only within his own diocese, but in other parts of his province. And sometimes, when he was not applied to or consulted, he would himself take the liberty of *reminding patrons of the importance of observing the trusts that were by the laws reposed in them;* desiring them to consider how much they were concerned that *the people*

of those parishes to which they presented should be provided of a good minister, one that was sober and regular, and preached to them *by his life*, as well as his sermons.

To a noble lord, who was more than ordinarily delicate in the choice of clerks for livings in his gift, and who had desired the Archbishop to give him a man for a benefice in the diocese of Carlisle, in his patronage, that *would set up his rest there, and expect no other preferment*, &c.; he wrote the following character of the clergyman he had pitched upon for his lordship's service, viz. "He is a good scholar, of a regular life, a right honest and good tempered man, and will take a conscientious care of his flock.

"I do not name him to your lordship but with a design that he should make good all the points that your lordship requires, viz. that he shall constantly reside upon the place, and make it the whole business of his life to look after his cure. My Lord, if your lordship gives him the living, he takes it upon these conditions, and I will undertake they shall be made good."

By this it appears that the Archbishop did allow of promises and contracts at the taking of livings, provided they were not of a Simonical nature, had nothing of a pecuniary consideration, nor any relation to the *profits or rights of the benefice*. For when either of these came into

question, or were but suspected; if he had but the slightest intimation of any Simonical contract, or illegal method of trafficking for preferment between patron and clerk, he was sure to interpose, as occasion offered, and prevent, if he could, any conclusion being made upon such terms. Nor did he think any man too great to be advertised of the *mischief* and *scandal* of such practices. A testimony of this his liberty here follows, being a letter to a noble lord whom report had represented as too much inclined to make an *illegal composition for one of his livings.*

"My Lord,

"It is very uneasy to me to meddle in other men's matters, and especially in the affairs of persons of your quality. But this that I now take the confidence to write about, is such, that neither the duty of my place, nor the honour I have for your lordship, will suffer me to be silent in it."

(Here follows the particular case.)

"I would gladly believe that the stories that are told about this affair, are not true; good my Lord, be pleased to *consider your own honour;* to consider *the trust that is reposed in you as a patron,* to consider the *honour of God and religion.* All which cannot but suffer by your permission of ecclesiastical benefices to be thus prostituted.

I have no design in the world in this representation I make to your lordship, but what I am sure, if you knew my heart, you would not only approve of, but *thank me for*, viz. the doing some part of my duty to God, and paying all the respects and service I am capable of to your lordship.

"And therefore I will not doubt of your goodness in putting a *kind construction* upon my action.

"I heartily pray God to bless your lordship and your noble family. I am, my Lord, with great sincerity,

"Your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

"Jo. Ebor."

In another case, when a certain lady offered him the nomination of the person whom she should present to a living in her gift, in the diocese of Chester, and he had given her ladyship the choice or option of two men that he could answer for, hearing something that led him into suspicion that some *dishonourable* terms were designed to be proposed to the clerk at his taking the presentation, he took care in time to put in this caution in a letter to her..... "But Madam, I must beg leave to represent to you, that if it be expected that the person ..... that is to be presented by your ladyship, should

enter into any promise or engagement of any kind relating to the rights and profits of the parsonage, I must humbly desire to be excused from recommending any one, though yet I will answer for either of those persons I have named that all that I shall propose to them *as fit, or equitable, or decent,* shall be performed by them, though *without any promise.*"

In a third case, he refused to give institution, because he had reason to suspect that there was a Simonical contract for the obtaining the presentation. But he withal declared, that if the patron would *give it under his hand* that he had made no sort of bargain or contract with the clerk or his father; or that, if any such was made, he did release them from it, upon these terms he would grant institution. When the twenty-eight days from the tender of the presentation were expired, the clerk, attended by a public notary, demanded institution, or reasons why it was refused. They were given as before, with a further exception against the presentation; upon which the Archbishop was served with an order to answer to a bill in Chancery that was filed against him. To which he caused his appearance to be made. But the matter came not to an issue there, for the patron did soon after, under his own hand, declare with great solemnity, that he had made no bar-

gain or contract in the granting that presentation, and institution was given thereupon.

In point of residence, he was as strict with his Clergy as the circumstances of their benefices and reasons of their particular cases would bear. And he had so great a *dislike to pluralities* of livings (unless they were small and contiguous), in which case there seemed *some necessity for them to be held in one hand,* that he would threaten, when he foresaw they were aimed at, to oppose the dispensation as much as he could. Neither would he, for the same reason, make any titular chaplains, in order to qualify them for holding more benefices than one.

To a gentleman that begged that favour of him for a friend, he answered:—

"To speak the truth (says he), I should not be easily prevailed upon to give certificates, even to those *that are really my chaplains,* if the design thereof be in order to their holding two livings. You know how odious pluralities are now grown, and how much the bishops in particular have been blamed upon that account, *with respect to their chaplains.* So that I think it concerns all of that order to be wonderfully tender in that point. I must confess, I once, upon great importunities, granted a qualification to an old friend who had a *great many children,* to hold two *contiguous* livings. But that is the

only time I broke my rule, and I would not willingly do it again."

If this seem too great a strictness and disregard of the inferior clergy in refusing them favours, which the lay lords are willing to bestow upon them as far as they have opportunity; let it be remembered, that in all other respects, where the rules and constitutions of the Church (which he understood and kept to, according to their true meaning and *first* intention) did not confine him, he was an admirable friend to them, and not only promised, but gave them all the encouragement that he possibly could. And especially to those who *were constantly resident in their cures*, and *industrious in the business of their profession*. Such men as these always were entitled to his protection, his counsel, and, if they needed it, his purse also. Something should be said in justice to him upon each of these articles of his kindness to his clergy.

They who behaved themselves diligently and exemplarily in their calling, might depend upon being *supported by him against any opposition or oppression that they met with*, as far as either his authority or his interest would go. If he heard of their being ill-treated, or discouraged, or of endeavours *used to prejudice their people against them*, by *disparaging them or their performances*, he would, after due enquiry into the truth of

the complaint, write himself to those who were blameable in this respect, and represent to them "how bad a thing it was to take such methods of defeating the benefit of a minister's labours, as being the most effectual course that could be taken to *render them insignificant*. That the *honour of God and religion*, and *the good of the people* did demand of them, and he did beg of them to do so no more." That, for his own part, he was so well satisfied of his Clergy's serious endeavours to do good, that, as far as his authority went, he would stand by them and vindicate them." He would apply himself also to the *principal gentlemen* of any parish where he thought the minister stood in need of their countenance and encouragement, to shew him their favour, and to give him their assistance in the discharge of his duty. And to use their interest in protecting him from all unjust or unreasonable attacks upon his character, which might make his ministry *ineffectual*. And if by these means he could not procure that ease and quiet to an industrious clergyman, that he thought he deserved, he would endeavour to make him amends by a removal (which should likewise be an advancement), when a proper opportunity offered.

The relief which he gave his Clergy out of his *pocket*, when there was occasion, will more

properly fall under another head, in the latter part of this work, than in this place; but the advantage which they reaped from his *advice*, to which they had free recourse in all their difficulties, is fittest to be mentioned here.

Whenever he was *consulted about their parochial concerns, he immediately answered their queries, and clearly and positively determined them.* In all his letters of this kind, which are left, there is but one in which he is something doubtful what to resolve; but even there he leaves no doubt or difficulty upon the clergyman who consulted him, by permitting, or rather advising him to follow his own first determination. The case not being very common, *about the marriage of a person with a quaker*, according to the usage of the Church, the letter itself will not be disagreeable.

"*November* 30, 1700.

"Sir,

"The case which you propose hath some difficulty in it, since our present canons say nothing about it. The *old canons*, indeed, are express against any person being married, *who was not first baptized.* But then in those times marriage was accounted a sacrament, and baptism was *janua sacramentorum.* On the other side, though marriage be no sacrament, but all men

and women have a natural right to it, yet whether any who are not initiated in Christianity, ought to have the *solemn* benediction of the Church *(as it is upon that account that the Clergy have any thing to do with marriage)*, is a thing fit to be considered. Add to this, that there is something in the Church office which supposeth that both the married persons are baptized. For, according to the rubric, it is "convenient that they receive the holy communion together at the first opportunity that presents itself." And therefore they must be in a condition of receiving it, which *unbaptized* persons are not.

"Pray ask yourself what you would do in case a person *excommunicated* should desire you to marry him. Methinks the case is much the same.

"I do think, upon the whole, it is not advisable to depart from your first resolution, unless the party will be first baptized, which I am not against your doing as privately as may be.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

Another thing for which the Clergy might certainly depend upon him, as often as they stood in need of it, *was the support and assistance of his episcopal authority*, in restraining

licentiousness, preserving order and discipline, and enforcing the ecclesiastical laws of the realm. Such complaints as were made to himself, he took care himself to see redressed, if they came within the cognizance of his courts; and would frequently confer with his officers (and he was provided *with an able set of men*), about the fittest methods of executing the powers the laws had invested them with. This he seldom failed to do, in all those causes depending in his courts where any of his Clergy or the rights of their churches were concerned; or *where the reformation of delinquents by ecclesiastical censures was aimed at.* And as he guarded on the one hand against the *neglects* of *inferior officers*, and was vigilant in seeing those powers exerted which the laws had lodged with him; so he was very careful, on the other hand, not to abuse them, by giving *needless trouble* and distress, either to clergy or laity, when *no other end* could be answered by it, than shewing his power and authority over them. He rightly *distinguished discipline from persecution.* And as the latter is *never allowable*, so neither did he think the former *seasonable*, but in such cases where the mild and gentle methods of persuasion proved ineffectual. He wished the Clergy to try, first all the *softer* means of reforming delinquents in their several parishes. And *then*, if

they stood further in need of the aid of their ordinary, he was ready to afford them all the assistance that the laws enabled him to give them. One letter of this sort, wrote to a clergyman in his diocese, will shew sufficiently his temper and judgment in this matter.

"*May* 21, 1698.

"Sir,

"I have been informed that several of your parishioners, even a considerable number of them, are *exceedingly negligent* of the worship of God on the Lord's day; neither attending prayers nor sermon, nor any other ordinances of religion. I did think at first they might be dissenters against whom these complaints were made; who, though they did not appear at church, yet served God in private meetings. But I am told the matter is otherwise, and *that they do not serve God at all.*

"If this be true, I am sorry for it, and I am sure it concerns *both you and me* to do what we can to have it amended. I beseech you, therefore, Sir, that you will take some pains with these people, that they may be brought to some sense of their duty; and do not content yourself with *general* preaching against irreligion and profaneness, and neglect of God's worship; which they will *be little better for, since*

they do not come to hear you: but be pleased to *go to them,* and talk to them, man by man, and try what you can do towards the awakening them out of their *state of dozedness and insensibility* of their greatest concernments. Endeavour to convince them of the absolute necessity there is of *owning God* and his religion, by joining in the public worship on the Lord's day, and receiving the holy sacrament at due times, if they either would have God's *blessing upon them and their labours,* and their *families in this world,* or would not perish everlastingly in the next.

"I would hope your good discourses and persuasions will have effect upon them, and you may gain several of them to a more lively sense of religion than they have yet had. And I must confess I like these gentle methods a great deal better than force. But if, after all your endeavours, there be any that are *resolved to continue heathens,* and absolutely refuse coming to Church, I must desire you to *signify their names to me, at least of the chief of them,* that other methods may be tried with them, such as the law has provided for the reformation of offenders of this nature.

"With my hearty wishes of the blessing of God upon all your good endeavours, I rest,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"Jo. Ebor."

When delinquents were proceeded against in his Court, he would use all kind endeavours to have them brought to a due sense of their fault, and a ready submission to the authority and sentence of the ecclesiastical court, before excommunication was denounced against them. And he would not only put the Clergy upon trying to convince them both of their sin, and of the dangerous consequence of their being *cut off from communion* with the Church, but he would prevail with his officers *to respite proceedings till such trial was made.* And his fatherly concern and compassion for such offenders was not confined within the limits of his diocese, but was extended into other parts of his province. An instance of which, (that will serve to shew at once the greatness and extent of his tenderness on such occasions,) we have, in a letter that he wrote to the Commissary of Richmond, in the diocese of Chester, concerning a person under sentence of excommunication for *marrying his deceased wife's sister*, and refusing to obey the admonition of the ecclesiastical judge, by separating from her.

"I know," says he, "Mr. Commissary, you have done nothing in this affair, but what you ought to do; nor have the Bishop of Chester or I any power to stop your proceedings, if we had a mind to it, which I dare say neither of us

are inclined to; for it is certain, this man and his pretended wife must be separated. But yet I could wish that all the tenderness might be used towards this poor man, that the circumstances of the thing will admit of; my meaning is, that you would give him and his wife some time to think of this fault of theirs, and to receive convictions of the unlawfulness or nullity of this their marriage. And therefore, if they be not already under the sentence of excommunication, I could wish you would defer it till another term; or, if they be under that sentence already, that you would order the curate not to publish it till further orders; or, if it be already published, that you would not immediately take out the writ *de Excom. Capiendo*, but give him time till all the means have been made use of to persuade him and his sister to obey the law in this matter. If you think this reasonable, then I would further beg of you to send some one of the clergymen about you, such an one as has reputation, and understands these matters, to discourse both with the man and woman about the unlawfulness of this marriage, and to dispose them, by a representation of the sin they live in, to do that voluntarily which must otherwise unavoidably come upon them, to their greater hurt and damage; I mean, total separation. I think all this would be charitable, and I hope it is

consistent with the ecclesiastical laws. And I believe it will do you no injury, but tend to your reputation," &c.

"*December 20, 1705.*"

Upon the receipt of this, the proceedings were respited accordingly.

Again, when the sentence of excommunication was actually denounced and published against another person, who afterwards, in a fit of sickness, was penitent, and desired the sacrament; he empowered the minister of the place to absolve him *without the formal absolution under the court seal*, by virtue of the following letter.

"*Bishopthorp, April 22, 1704.*

"I have received and perused your letter, and am so well satisfied with the account you give of Mr. . . . . , his repentance, that I would have you, or, if you think that word is too little, I do empower you to give him the sacrament, notwithstanding his excommunication; provided that, in the presence of some witness or witnesses, he do particularly *declare his sorrow for that fact*, for which he hath incurred the censure of excommunication; and withal *do promise*, that if it please God that he recover of this sickness, he will give such satisfaction

to the Church as the ecclesiastical court shall appoint. "Upon these terms you may give him the sacrament, and he may have Christian burial. I pray you to *certify me* of what you do in this matter. As for a formal absolution, under the seal of the Court, I shall send that, if there be need of it, when I have talked with my chancellor, who at this time is from home. I wish Mr..... happiness both in life and death.

"I am, Sir, your affectionate friend,
"Jo. Ebor."

Commutations for penances were things which he did not approve of in the general, and yet in some few and particular cases he thought them not only allowable, but expedient, viz. where the interests of religion were as well served by the commutation as by the personal penance; and where the application of it was made some way to the benefit and service of that church where the penance should have been performed, and where the minister of such church was consenting and advising to it. For which reason, he thought the Clergy themselves, *who generally were the best judges of the expediency of commutations,* should be consulted on those occasions. Here follows one of his letters to a minister of his diocese upon this subject.

"*December* 19, 1704.

" Sir,

" I understand there is one Mrs.....; of ....., presented in our court at York, for having had a bastard child; and, as I am told, the sentence of excommunication is decreed against her for that fact. So that she must either speedily perform the penance enjoined her, or commute for it, or else there will be a *significavit*. I was, I believe, applied to while I was in Yorkshire, to grant a commutation of her penance. But I would do nothing in it, nor will I do now, without advising with you. You *know the state of the case* best, and can best resolve, whether the doing penance in person, or by money to be applied to the use of religion in your town, will be most serviceable to the public good. If you like this latter way better, viz. of commuting, then I would desire you to send me word what sum you think (considering the person's circumstances) may be insisted upon for a commutation. And likewise to what uses you would have it applied. For I would have it *entirely* applied to the use of the Church, and *as notoriously* as this her offence to it hath been. If, on the other hand, you are of opinion that this fault of her's ought not to be commuted for, but that it is for the interest of religion that she should do a personal

penance, I pray signify it to me. For I would in all cases, as far as is in my power, *make the public good the rule of my actions.* With my hearty wishes of all good to you, I am,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"Jo. Ebor."

Indeed, *Church discipline* doth not deserve that name whenever the *public good is not made the rule of exercising it.* And it is either for want of a steady adherence to this rule in those who exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or through an *unhappy appearance of this rule being forgotten in the manner* of exercising it, that so many complaints have been made against the *spiritual* courts, and so many invidious reflections cast upon them. He was very sensible, both of the decay of discipline in general, and of *the curbs put upon any effectual prosecutions of it by the temporal courts,* and of the difficulty of preserving and keeping up what little was left entire to the ecclesiastics, without *creating offence* and administering matter for aspersions and evil surmises. So far as it was in his power, either to remedy or obviate any complaints of this kind in his own diocese, he did it. He took care to put his own courts upon such a footing as should leave no room for exceptions against them, but such as might be made against their just rights

and legal privileges, which it was neither in his power to abridge them of, nor in his inclination to do it in the least article. He made enquiries of all his ecclesiastical officers, and of their rules of practice in all the several branches of their business; putting interrogatories concerning the orders and customs of the spiritual courts to the several judges, advocates, proctors, and acting registers in them; and upon their particular and distinct answers made, he regulated the practice of the courts, and declared and enjoined certain *rules and orders* to be observed by all the rural deans and surrogates acting by any authority from the ecclesiastical judges; and he reformed, at the same time, the *table of fees in his consistory*.

His "*Articles of Enquiry*," at the visitation of these courts, being drawn up by himself, in 1699, (though the regulation was not completed till 1705, and perhaps with good judgment,) are inserted at length in the appendix*.

He endeavoured, as often as occasion was given, to prevent or remove the restraints that were put upon church discipline by the temporal courts, and to clear up those difficulties in the exercise of it which were occasioned by the *statute laws*, especially *the act of toleration;* of

* App. I. No. V.

which instances will be given in a more proper place; though one may not be improperly mentioned here, to shew his concern to maintain all the force and effect that the laws had given to *ecclesiastical censures.*

He had observed, that the benefit designed by the legislature in the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* was evaded or eluded, by the frequent discharging of excommunicate persons out of custody by writs of *supersedeas* from the Chancery, grounded upon errors in the *significavits* of the excommunication by the ecclesiastical judges; which errors, nevertheless, the said judges did not know how to amend. And let the cause be what it would, the easiness of obtaining these writs of *supersedeas* was so well known by the *practising attorneys in the country,* that they did generally encourage all sorts of people to stand out in defiance of the Church censures. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury upon this head in pressing terms, begging his advice and assistance, as in a matter that deeply affected the *whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction* of which his grace, next to the king (1698), was the chief patron. He sent him a full account of the case, as it stood in Yorkshire, and all that related to it, hoping that if his grace would represent it fully to the Lord Chancellor, his lordship would give such direc-

tions in it as that his courts might go on *to enforce the ecclesiastical censures with the civil penalties,* without fear of being baffled in their proceedings.

The great tenderness that he himself always shewed to particular persons under the sentence of excommunication, or liable to incur it (of which some instances have been already given), may acquit him, notwithstanding his zeal in this matter, of all other views than that of the public good; which he apprehended must unavoidably suffer by enervating discipline so much in *that only article,* wherein, by the aid of the temporal laws, it carries any terror in the eyes of the lawless.

Schools likewise, and schoolmasters, who were subject to his visitation, met with a due share of his consideration and care. This appeared as often as he undertook the examination and correction of such rules and orders (or, as they are sometimes called, statutes), as were drawn up by the feoffees, governors, or other managers, of the trust and revenues of *schools endowed.* He observed, that these rules were commonly drawn too strict, and consisted of too many, and some of them quite unnecessary particulars.

He thought the fewer and plainer they were, they stood a better chance of being kept to,

and doing the service intended by them. Some of his sentiments concerning the material points to be attended to in the regulation of schools are as follows, being extracted from his letters wrote on the said occasions.

I. He observed, that little good ever came of *free grammar schools, where the endowment was mean.* If they turned to any account, it was owing to a number of *foreign scholars,* who, not being entitled to the privilege, paid well for their learning. In all these foundations, therefore, the first thing to be looked at was the provision of a sufficient encouragement for the master, who ought to be a graduate in one of our universities. And if the salary appointed by the founder was not a competent and proper subsistence for him, it ought to be a rule that *none* should be received into the school, but whose parents and friends should *pay something* towards their teaching; provided such an imposition upon the inhabitants were consistent with the letters patent, charter, deed of endowment, or other act or instrument whatsoever, whereby the school was founded. For his own part, he did not see why this, generally speaking, might not be so, but the *lawyers being the best judges* of that, he left it to their determination.

II. Where it could be done, he judged three-pence a week, or three shillings and six-pence

the quarter, was as little as ought to be paid. Nor should more than that be paid by any that are free of the school, when they came to learn *Greek*. His reason was, because a greater price would be a temptation to the master to put his scholars into Greek before they were fit for it. But some of the poorest people might be exempted from this payment, and have their children taught gratis, though not above such a *fixed* number, and those put in from time to time by the governors, &c.

III. It ought to be likewise a rule, that none should be *received into a free grammar school*, but such as could *read English perfectly*, and were fit to *go into their accidence*. But, in case the master were obliged by the charter or endowment to receive scholars, to be taught reading, that it were fitting that an imposition were laid upon the inhabitants, if that could be legally done, to contribute, as before-mentioned, towards the master's better maintenance. The reason is, because he must take as much, if not more, pains, and spend more time upon *these readers*, than upon those that *learn grammar*.

IV. He was of opinion, it were better the school hours should be the same both in summer and winter, than differently appointed. That eight hours would sufficiently exercise both teacher and learner; that inconveniences follow

from beginning so early as six o'clock in the morning (unless an hour be allowed between six and eleven, for breakfast and relaxation), and especially to those that live at a distance from the school.

V. Morning and evening prayers in schools he much approved of, provided the *offices were very short*, viz. *two or three collects* out of the Liturgy, with a short prayer in the morning for God's blessing upon their endeavours (as *that, for instance,* in the beginning of the *common grammar*). And, in the evening, the *general thanksgiving;* each office to be concluded with the *Lord's prayer,* and a *blessing,* viz. in the morning, 2 Cor. xiii. 14; and in the evening, Numb. vi. 24, as it is applied in the end of the office of commination. If any thing more was at any time proper to be done, it was using the Litany and reading one select lesson out of the New Testament (as the 5th, 6th, and 7th of St. Matthew), to be chosen by the master, at the close of the week, or *Saturday noon,* when the master catechised.

VI. *The swearing* of masters to the observance of particular rules and orders, he *was absolutely against;* this he judged would serve to no great end, unless it were to raise scruples and perplexities every day in the mind of the master, if he were of a tender conscience. On the

other hand, if he made little conscience of his actions, he might break his oath very often. Therefore, he would have the master's oath (if any were to be administered) put into *very general terms*, as that he would be faithful and careful to and for the good of the said school, in all things appertaining to his office and charge, according to the trust reposed in him.

These were the principal rules by which he amended, as there was occasion, the orders or statutes that were sent to him for his approbation and confirmation. And in the choice and appointment of schoolmasters, so far as he had any concern, he was very inquisitive and wary, *knowing the qualifications for that business* were sometimes mistaken, and *interest and friendship too often prevalent;* he thought that the capacity of an useful schoolmaster lay *more in his temper*, than *in his parts*, more in his taste, than in his learning, and most of all in his virtue and sobriety. That favour and friendships should always be postponed to these material considerations. The answer that he gave once to a person that desired his recommendation to a school, was in these frank words:—"It is not out of any mean opinion of your abilities, that I am averse to doing that which you desire of me. So far from that, I really take you to be a per-

son of extraordinary wit and parts, and I believe of very good learning, and I know you to be a singular good preacher; but I cannot satisfy myself that you will make a good schoolmaster, especially at such a school as that at ..... If I am worthy to advise you, it should be *the last employment you should take.* For this reason, I have no mind to contribute any thing, either directly or indirectly, to the carrying on that project. I must also own ingenuously to you, that I do make a *little scruple of certifying for your sobriety,* because I have heard some stories that are not to your advantage that way. I hope they may be false; but, however, they would prevent at present my complying with your request, though I had no other reasons for declining to recommend you."

He was, indeed, upon all other occasions, very delicate and conscientious in the matter of *testimonials.*

And now, to pass over all his other episcopal acts of lesser moment, it may be time to give some account of a more material instance of the exercise of his authority, viz. in the visitation and *reformation of the collegiate church of Southwell.* And the rather, because he has not been a little censured since his death by some of the vicars choral of that church, who have fancied themselves injured and aggrieved, or prejudiced

in their legal rights; by the *injunctions* he gave on that occasion.

To understand the ground of their complaints, and the foundation and extent of the power he used in making the regulations which he did, some previous account ought to be given of the old constitution of that church before its dissolution, and of the alterations made therein at its refoundation by Henry VIII.

Saint Mary, the Virgin, of Southwell, is supposed to have been founded by one of the first Archbishops of York, who accordingly have always been patrons of the church, as well as the lords of the manor there. The ancient government of it was by a certain number of *canons secular*, who lived in common together, till they were *converted into prebendaries*.

The number of these prebendaries, taking in those of later foundation, were, at the time of the dissolution, sixteen; with their sixteen *vicars choral*, and thirteen *chantry priests*. And the whole revenue of the Church was divided into five parts.

I. The commons, appropriated to so many of the prebendaries, as were also residentiaries.

II. The corps appropriated to the prebendal stalls.

III. Estates appropriated to the vicars choral, of which they had the management; *they being a*

corporation, and having *their* common seal. And a college with a common hall, where they lived.

IV. The chantry lands appropriated to the chantry priests (who had also a common house, where they lived), besides the particular endowments of the altars where they served.

V. "Our Lady's lands;" estates so called, being appropriated to the fabric.

This was the old constitution. But, upon the surrender of the Church and all its lands into the hands of King Henry VIII. he refounded it, and made it *one body corporate*, by the name of the "*Chapter of Southwell.*"

So that all the vicar's lands and chantry lands (which were yet in the Church) were laid in common with the chapter's lands, and managed by them. It is true, the chantry lands and rents were afterwards seized by King Edward VI. and disposed of otherwise; but, in the reign of Queen Mary, the chapter recovered them all by law*; forasmuch, as at the refoundation, all

* Some particular rents were not looked after as they ought to have been at that time. One, for instance, of 20 marks per annum, charged upon Battersea estate, by Archbishop Booth, when he gave it to the see for maintaining two chantries, which he founded in Southwell, was given by King Edward, at the dissolution of chantries, to the school at Guildford, and never was recovered to the Church. Archbishop Sharp was sensible, that if every one had their right, the Chapter of Southwell

these chantry rents had been given or restored to the chapter.

It is likewise true, that the vicars choral did not thoroughly acquiesce in this new settlement by Henry VIII., claiming some right to lease the lands formerly appropriated to their college in their own names, or at least to join with the chapter in doing so, and of enjoying the *vicarage houses as their freehold.* And as some clauses or expressions in the act of foundation, which was by act of Parliament in the 35th of Henry VIII. did seem to favour their claims, this left room for some dispute, more or less, between the chapter and the vicars; and that dispute occasioned some variety of practice in letting of leases of the old vicars' lands; till the act of foundation was further explained, and the intention of it ascertained by the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, whose authority to grant those statutes, and by them finally to decide any disputes raised upon the wording or design of the act aforesaid, being founded *on a better bottom than the bare royal prerogative* will deserve in the next place to be considered.

By an act, 31st Henry VIII., *enabling* the king to make statutes for his new foundations,

ought to have this pension; but found no means of getting it restored to them, it having been so long appropriated to another use.

it is declared, that what he shall ordain by writing, under his great seal, shall be of as good strength, force, value, and effect, to all intents and purposes, as if it had been done by authority of Parliament.

But, as the statutes which were prepared in pursuance of these powers, *were not executed and delivered in due form*, and *thought invalid* through that error and defect, the same powers were renewed and given to Queen Mary (1st Mariæ, c. 9.), that she might make good the deficiency; but, she making no further use of these powers, than by setting forth the statutes of Durham church, the same were a second time renewed and given to Queen Elizabeth, in the first year also of her reign. How it happened, that she did so little towards establishing and rendering effectual the king's statutes, or else providing new ones in their room, is not material to enquire here; (some account of it will be found in Bishop Gibson's Codex, p. 206, and Strype's Life of Parker, p. 342.) It is enough to the present purpose, that she did, in pursuance and by virtue of these powers, granted her by Parliament, give commission to Archbishop Sandys, with other ecclesiastical commissioners for the diocese of York, to draw up statutes for Southwell, which she gave in the twenty-seventh year of her reign, under the broad seal, and in due

form, referring, for her authority, to the aforesaid act in the first year of her reign; *juxta quendam Actum Parliamenti anno nostri regni primo.*

Now, by these statutes, all the lands and possessions belonging to the Church were vested in the chapter, and leases were to be granted *only by a certain number of prebendaries.* The number of vicars choral was reduced from sixteen to six, and the ancient pensions payable by the prebendaries, *quasi vicarii ante hac vel habuerunt vel vindicaverunt,* were restored to the vicars, yet not so fully, but that the Archbishop of York for the time being might *diminish them at discretion.* By these statutes, likewise, *the vicars' houses* in their college were allotted to them at the sole *discretion* of the archbishops*; or they were permitted to enjoy them only so long as the Archbishop did not appropriate them to other uses.

To these statutes, as decisive in all the points that had been before disputed, submission was paid, and the Church was afterwards wholly governed by them, at least in all matters pertaining to the right and property of the several

* Habeant vero dicti vicarii sibi cantoribus et choristis domos ad eosdem vicarios retroactis temporibus pertinentes nisi dictus Archiepiscopus quem visitatorem ecclesiæ constituimus *aliter* ordinaverit. Stat. Eccl. Southwell, c. 2. De Vicariis, &c.

members. But, as to the *matters of discipline*, the same care was not taken. And especially from the time of the great rebellion, a visible desuetude or neglect appeared of that order and regularity and decent observances which the statutes directed; though, at the same time, there were several worthy men members of that body, who wanted not inclination to have set every thing on its right bottom. How it came to pass that nothing was done, is of no consequence to enquire now. In this declining and disorderly state, Archbishop Sharp found this church when he came to the see; and to apply some remedy was one of the first things he took in hand upon his coming down into his diocese. In the spring of 1693, (May 8,) he came to Southwell, staying there three nights, and visited the chapter in form; and, in pursuance of that visitation, gave *injunctions*, as empowered by the statutes, concerning residence, prebendal houses, college of vicars choral, registry and grammar school, &c. By which the whole body was put under as good a regulation, as most ecclesiastical bodies in this kingdom. And although application was made to his successor, Archbishop Dawes, for a relaxation of some particulars relating to the vicarage-houses, and a petition lodged with Archbishop Blackbourn for a redress of what some of the vicars looked

upon as grievances or illegal restraints upon them, yet both these prelates have esteemed his regulations so proper, and his injunctions so wise, as to offer at no amendments or alterations in them. Nor will the service he did that church be easily forgot, so long as his *injunctions* remain upon the register of the chapter.

As to the suggestions of those vicars who complained that he had exceeded the limits of his power, they are groundless, because he assumed and exercised none but what were expressly invested in him by the statutes. And the infringement upon their ancient rights and privileges, if ever there were any made, was made by Archbishop Sandys, in giving his successors the liberty, by statute, of taking what order they pleased during their own lives, concerning the pensions and houses of the vicars. Nor is it easy to account how Archbishop Sandys should have taken this authority upon himself, otherwise than that he knew himself to be sufficiently warranted in what he did by Queen Elizabeth's commission to him, authorized by Parliament; and which was granted to him with more ample powers than had been ever exercised before (except in the church of Durham by Queen Mary's commissioners, who had the same parliamentary sanction to their acts),

in making and giving statutes to the cathedral and collegiate churches.

Thus much seemed necessary to say to vindicate him from some aspersions on this account, and from the charge of oppression or arbitrary doings, which the vicars, by carrying their *complaints of late years into Westminster Hall*, seemed to throw upon him; though it was some justification of him, that they could not obtain any hearing of their complaint there, but were remitted to their proper and local visitor, who hath not hitherto made any alteration, upon their remonstrance, in the forementioned injunctions given by Archbishop Sharp.

He was, in other respects, no ordinary *benefactor to this church*, as will appear from the two following singular instances.

I. King Edward VI. had settled a pension *in perpetuum*, for the support of a divinity lecturer, or afternoon preacher at Southwell; which pension had been regularly paid till the year 1641, but from thenceforward had been dropped. It is commonly thought difficult enough to obtain the revival of such a grant as this (after so many years intermission of payment), and the establishment of it for the future; how much more so to recover arrears? Yet he had a scheme that he thought would bear, and having asked as yet no favour of the crown (this was in 1692),

he conceived hopes of succeeding in it. He drew up a petition, in the name of the chapter, setting forth the settlement of ten pounds per annum by Edward VI. for the maintenance of a reader in divinity, in that large parish, with the reasons of it; and that the said pension had not been paid for fifty years, so that they humbly conceived there was an arrear of five hundred pounds due to them from the Crown on that account. Therefore, they most humbly requested of his Majesty, King William, to grant them an order for such a number of trees in his forest of Sherwood, not fit for the naval stores, as should amount to the value of five hundred pounds, out of which fund they might make a perpetual provision for a divinity lecturer, &c.

The answer he received to this was as follows.

"*Whitehall, Dec.* 29, 1692.

"My Lord,

"I am to acquaint your Grace, from my Lord Godolphin, that the King is unwilling to grant the timber you desired for the church of Southwell, but his Majesty chooses rather to give the money. And thereupon I am to desire of your Grace the times and proportions by which the payments of the sum proposed will answer the end intended. And in this

your Grace will please to make it as easy to the King as the case will bear. For so the grant will, in all probability, be the more speedy and effectual, &c.

"NOTTINGHAM."

It was afterwards concluded, that this payment should be made out of the tenths of the diocese of Lincoln; which it accordingly was in four years time. And *with this sum a stipend was established for a theological lecture, according to the first institution.*

II. When a great part of Southwell church was destroyed by fire occasioned by lightning in the year 1711, the repairing of which damage cost near three thousand pounds, he, by his own bounty and interest, raised almost the third part of that sum. He *gave himself two hundred pounds.* He procured a grant of license to cut down wood in the Queen's forest of Sherwood, from the Duke of Leeds, to the value of two hundred pounds; and from the Duchess of Newcastle, five hundred pounds, which last benefaction was obtained of her Grace by the following letter, which he wrote to her on that occasion.

"May it please your Grace,

"I am sensible it is a very unusual confidence in one who has not the honour so

much as to be known to your Grace, to presume to write to you about such an affair as I now do. But the post I am in, and the urgency of the occasion, together with the honourable thoughts I have of your Grace's goodness, will, I trust, so far apologize for me, as that I shall at least obtain your pardon for my boldness, if not (which I humbly hope) your gracious answer to my petition.

"Your Grace, no doubt, has heard of the dismal accident that lately happened at Southwell, in Nottinghamshire, where the greatest part of the collegiate church was burnt by lightning.

"Sure no Christian that has any concern for the honour of God, or his worship, can think that so ancient and useful a church ought to lie in ruins, but that all imaginable care should be taken for the restoring of it. This all the country, as well as we of the clergy, are desirous of.

"But there is no other way to repair these ruins, but by the charitable contributions of well-disposed persons, especially of those who have concerns in the county where this church stands.

"Now, it being the honour of Nottinghamshire, that your Grace has a near relation to them, they do presume that your Grace's goodness is such, that you will not be backward in

contributing to the rebuilding of Southwell church; and, at their desire, I have undertaken to lay this matter before you, and humbly to beg your assistance.

"Indeed, madam, your encouragement of this good work, as it will be highly acceptable to the country, and much *tend to your honour*, so I doubt not but it will be very pleasing to God, and prove a means of obtaining his farther *blessings upon yourself and all your concerns.*

"Madam, I heartily wish your Grace all happiness, both in this world and the other, and am, with the greatest respect,

"Your Grace's most faithful,

"And most humble Servant,

"Jo. Ebor."

"*Bishopthorp, January* 8, 1712."

When he came to London, which he did the latter end of the same month, the duchess sent her chaplain to him to know what he thought it was proper for her to give. But decency and his modesty would not suffer him to prescribe to her charity. So she herself determined upon the aforementioned sum; though she was disposed even to a larger benefaction, if he could have asked it of her, as Dr. Brailsford, the late Dean of Wells, who knew her mind on that occasion, was wont to declare.

Thus much being said of his visitation and reformation of the collegiate church of Southwell, and other services performed by him to its great advantage; it may not be improper to conclude this part of the work with an account of the most *memorable of his acts as an archbishop* or metropolitan. And that was his interposition and mediation of the differences between Dr. William Nicholson, the Bishop, and Dr. Francis Atterbury, the Dean of Carlisle; and the rather, because in this account, which shall be no further laid open than is necessary to shew what share he bore in accommodating matters between them, his own sentiments about the *king's ecclesiastical supremacy*, which was the sole ground of their dispute, will more fully appear.

In the year 1704, when Dr. Atterbury was nominated by the Queen to the deanery of Carlisle, a scruple arose in the breast of the bishop about the regularity of admitting him into that preferment. For, in his lordship's judgment, the doctor had, by some of his assertions which were published concerning the regal supremacy, incurred the censure of the second canon. The natural inference from which was, that without a retraction of those positions, at least before the bishop and his chapter, institution could not be canonically given him by them. However, his lordship, foreseeing the difficulties

that might be created upon this dispute with the doctor, when he should come down with the royal mandate, was so prudent as to apprise the Archbishop very early with his difficulty, and with his resolutions thereupon, viz. not to give institution; but withal expressing himself willing that the whole thing should be referred to him as metropolitan, first begging his private opinion and advice in the case, which he desired his Grace to signify either to himself or to Dr. Atterbury, which alone might possibly settle the controversy between them; but, if that could not be done, the *dernier resort* should be to his Grace's *sentence;* who should be final judge of all controversies between them. And thus the present matter in dispute would be brought to a legal and authoritative decision.

To this the Archbishop answered as follows.

"*August* 28, 1704.

"My Lord,

"I have perused your last, and I have likewise several times read over those three or four pages you refer to in Dr. Atterbury's book. I must confess to you, whether it be my own dulness, or that I am naturally inclined to put a favourable construction upon an author's expressions, till I be warned that there is some ill meaning in them, that I might have read

those passages forty times over, and never have found out that the author of them, by any thing there said, was involved in the censure denounced in the second canon against those that deny the king's supremacy; for I should have reckoned, that the *second canon was only a clinching of the first*, by adding an ecclesiastical censure against those that set up a *foreign* jurisdiction, to the prejudice of the rights of the imperial crown of this realm (which Dr. Atterbury, I dare say, never thought of), as is set forth by that first canon.

"I must confess further to you, that now that I see your objections against Dr. Atterbury's doctrine, I can see nothing that he hath asserted but what is capable of a fair construction. And though he may not have expressed himself so accurately as he might have done (and perhaps would have done, if he had had no other thing in his view but the king's supremacy, as it is taught in the first and second canon); yet even in this point he hath been guilty of no other slips but such as a candid reader would be inclined to pass by, without much censure, in most of the authors he reads, especially where they treat of a thing ἐν παρεργῳ.

"As for those consequences which your lordship insists upon as flowing from Dr. Atterbury's principles, I must in this also beg your

lordship's pardon, if I do not see how they can be charged upon any thing he hath said, unless with a little straining.

"Doth he any where make such a distinction between the king's *personal* and *politic capacity*, as was made use of in the late times? Doth he any where say, that the *three estates* have a co-ordinate power with the king, or that they can do any thing without him? Doth he any where deny, that the king, whether in or out of Parliament, is 'supreme governor in all *causes*, and over *all persons*, as *well ecclesiastical as civil*?' Doth he any where affirm, that any of the estates, or any of the king's ministers, are invested with *original jurisdiction*, as your lordship expresses it? Nay, lastly, does he assert any thing in any of these four pages from which any of these assertions can necessarily be inferred?

"Well, but he saith that *the king and the three estates* have more power in Church matters, than the *king alone*. *And is not this true?* No, saith your lordship, the king alone hath all Church powers; but, in some cases, *he cannot exercise it without the three estates.* Perhaps your lordship's way of expression is something better, and I fancy Dr. Atterbury would not scruple to express himself so, if there were occasion. But nevertheless, his expression is true enough, as

we ordinarily speak; for a man *has no right further than he can lawfully exercise it.*

"But Dr. Atterbury distinguishes between the absolute sovereign and the limited sovereign, making the *absolute* sovereignty to be lodged in the king, *in conjunction with the three estates.* I must own, that I do not see any great harm in this neither; nay, though he should have said that the three estates are *sharers* with the king in the *absolute sovereignty;* for hath it not been said an hundred times without offence, that the Lords and Commons have a share in the *Legislature?* And if so, they have a share in the absolute sovereignty; and then the king is not the absolute sovereign without them. And doth not the very style of the enacting clause, in every act of Parliament, imply such a thing? 'Be it enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, with the advice and consent of the Lords, &c. and by *the authority of the same,*' &c. So that they are not *mere advisers,* but have *authority* in the making of laws. It is true, their authority signifies nothing without the king's fiat. And, besides, what authority they have may be derived from the king entirely, for any thing that Dr. Atterbury insinuates to the contrary.

"In short, my opinion is, that so long as Dr. Atterbury doth not set up any *foreign*

usurped jurisdiction over this realm, nor doth deny that the King or Queen of England is the *fountain of all lawful power* that is exercised in the same, as to my thinking, he doth neither of these things, he cannot be called to account for denying the king's supremacy, however he and your lordship may differ in the expressions about the exercise of this power.

"Your lordship, I dare say, will pardon me for speaking my mind so freely in this business, and will likewise excuse me for the little regard I have had either to my choice of words, or method in what I have said. I have wrote just as things offered themselves. Indeed, neither my time nor my head will allow me to do more. And, which is worst of all, I doubt I am not so competent a master in this sort of knowledge as to be fit to offer any thing upon this argument to your lordship, or, if I do, to presume it will give you any satisfaction. But the hints I have given may tempt you to think more of this matter.

"Indeed, I do heartily wish that your lordship could so satisfy yourself as to these objections you have raised, as that, without further expostulating the matter with Dr. Atterbury, you might give him institution when he comes down. Or, if that cannot be done, I could wish, that for the pulling this thorn out of your

foot, I at this time had your authority to give him institution before he reaches Carlisle. But yet I know not how that would look, sure I am it will be of very ill consequence, should you refuse him institution upon this pretence of the canon. What you do, I verily believe, out of conscience, the most will look upon as the effect of an old grudge; and, which is worst, I dare say you will find yourself at last to be in the wrong.

"I am, with all sincere respect,

"And hearty good wishes, &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

His lordship, upon the receipt of this, returned answer, August 31, "That being fully persuaded of his duty in this matter, he did not weigh consequences. That he was desirous enough to live in a friendly manner with the dean of his cathedral, and to avoid the scandal that a new breach betwixt them must occasion, but that he could not institute him unless he first *subscribed the following paper*, which was as favourably drawn up as he could contrive it.

"I. The Queen of England, out of Parliament, hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the Christian emperors had in the primitive Church.

"II. The Church of England is under two

sovereigns, the one absolute and the other limited.

"III. The supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction, annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, can be exerted no otherwise than in Parliament.

"These three propositions separating her Majesty's authority from her person, and impeaching her royal supremacy, are erroneous, and contrary to the received doctrine of the Church of England, as well as the known laws of the realm; and therefore (so far as they or any of them are deducible from any thing that I have heretofore asserted and published), I do hereby openly and freely revoke and renounce the same.

"For," says his lordship, in his letter to the Archbishop, "if the first of these propositions be true, the Queen is not supreme head of the Church in her personal capacity; since the having the same authority is the very definition which both the second canon and the 37th article gives of her supremacy. If the *second* be true, the *unicus gubernator supremus* in the first article, to be subscribed before institution, is nonsense. And if the last be law, an appeal to the Queen's delegates (at least a commission of review afterwards), is very illegal . . . . . Upon the whole, my Lord, if Mr. Dean consents not to this proposal, and your Grace thinks that he

may be honestly instituted without any such revocation, I humbly desire you will be pleased to admit him, and send your *metropolitical mandate* to the chapter for his instalment."

And this the Archbishop was very much inclined to do, knowing that Dr. Atterbury would never submit to have *new terms imposed upon him, which the law did not require him to comply with*; nor did he think the bishop had reason to insist upon them; and therefore would have made no scruple himself of giving the doctor institution at York. But he considered that the signification of the bishop's consent by letter, was not sufficient to empower him to perform this act; for that there ought to be an instrument of *remission* under the episcopal seal, by which the bishop should refer the whole affair to his metropolitan, and thereby give him authority to institute at York, and issue out his metropolitical mandate for such *Allation* by the chapter of Carlisle. On the other hand, when the bishop consented, in compliance with the Archbishop's own proposal, that the doctor should be instituted at York, he meant no more than that his Grace should determine this matter originally, and at the first instance, which otherwise was too likely to be brought *before him by way of appeal*. And this he apprehended a metropolitan might do, *consentiente ordinario*.

There was another method proposed, viz. that my lord of Carlisle should grant a commission under his episcopal seal to such persons as he thought proper to give institution at York; which was the method Archbishop Sancroft took*, when he made a scruple of consecrating Bishop Burnet, &c.; that is, he granted a *commission* to some other bishops to do it for him. But to this my lord answered, "That it was first necessary *that a tender should be made to him* of her Majesty's presentation, before any such commission could be regularly issued out. And besides, he thought it would look *too much like shuffling to grant a commission to others, to do an act for him, and by his authority, which he could not in conscience do personally.* And besides, he hoped that when the doctor brought his credentials, all their differences might be compromised between themselves. And moreover, he declared that he should not peremptorily insist upon the doctor's revocation of the

* Archbishop Sancroft's commission was to four bishops, London, Asaph, Winchester, and Llandaff. By virtue whereof, together with King William and Queen Mary's letters commissional, they being assisted by the Bishops of Lincoln and Carlisle, consecrated Dr. Burnet to Salisbury, in the chapel at Fulham, March 31, 1689; and afterwards other bishops were consecrated, and other episcopal acts done by virtue of the said commission.

three propositions, if he could either convince him that they were not deducible from what he had published, or that they were reconcileable to the laws of the Church and State.

As soon as he had received this advice from the bishop, he dismissed the doctor on his journey to Carlisle; and immediately after wrote this friendly letter to his lordship.

"*September* 11, 1704.

"My Lord,

"I had your's on Saturday. Dr. Atterbury is set out this morning for Carlisle, in order to wait upon you with his patent. I could wish, that *upon his tendering of it,* your lordship would either think fit to give him institution yourself, or delegate your authority to me *by way of remission,* if your lordship and he judge that a proper method. But if neither of these can be done, then I have this to beg of you, that you would at the first give him your *positive denial, and not insist upon the twenty-eight days,* which the canon gives you to deliberate about the matter; that so he may, without more loss of time, *make his appeal.* This I cannot but think reasonable, considering here is no dispute about the right of patronage; and you likewise know your own mind at the time he tenders you his patent what you mean to do,

as well as you will know at the end of twenty-eight days; so that all delay will look like pure unkindness.

"I will not now meddle with the matter in difference between you, you have had my thoughts about it, and I have had your's. But I must confess I am still of the opinion I was, viz. that Dr. Atterbury, in the 213th, 14th, 15th and 16th pages has asserted nothing derogatory to the Queen's supremacy, as in our constitution, and by our laws it must be understood.

"I find the Bishop of Sarum is perfectly of his mind. And so he has owned himself in that very book which he writ against Dr. Atterbury. I must confess I am entirely in the sentiments of that bishop, when he declares thus. 'I always thought that the king was no other way head of the Church, than as he was the head of the State, with whom the executive power is lodged. And who is the head of the legislative, in *conjunction* with the great body of his Parliament.'

"And this is exactly the doctor's doctrine.

"But I have forgot what I just now said, that I would not enter into the merits. But now that I have broke my word, give me leave to say a little more.

"Of the three propositions which you would have the doctor to renounce, the first I take to

be undoubtedly true. The second is not his, but, with a little alteration, may be made his, viz. if it run thus. The Church of England is under a sovereign, who, with his Parliament, is absolute, but *without it is limited.* And this I take to be likewise undoubtedly true. The third proposition seems to be foreign to the present business, nor do I see how the doctor is concerned in it. Yet I take it to be as true as the other two, if the legislative be the supreme jurisdiction, as when one makes degrees of comparison in jurisdiction, it must be acknowledged to be.

"Good my Lord, forgive my zeal in this business. I profess I have no ends to serve, but those of peace, and to prevent, if I can, a rupture; which I am afraid will be prejudicial to yourself; and not only so, but if it be not stifled in the beginning, may be the occasion of a *new quarrel in this Church, of which we have too many already amongst us.*

"I pray God direct you, and assure yourself of me that I am always

"Your true friend, and brother,

"And servant,

"Jo. Ebor."

He had no occasion to mediate any further in this affair; for, upon the doctor's refusing to

subscribe the revocation, as being *unprecedented*, and, upon the bishop refusing thereupon to give him institution, both sent up their accounts of the matter, and their own reasons for what they did, to the *Secretaries of State*, the Bishop to Secretary Hodges, the doctor to Secretary Harley; by whom the affair was laid before the Queen. And her Majesty was pleased finally to determine it by *the actual exercise of her supremacy;* but withal ordered one of her secretaries to acquaint the Archbishop that she was pleased with all the steps that he had before taken in that matter.

There was another accidental difficulty arose in this business, and threatened more disputes with the dean from the bishop and chapter, had not the Archbishop given a seasonable solution to it. It seems, after Dr. Atterbury's patent had passed the seals, the *Lord Keeper* started a doubt about the legality of a clause in it which expressed the deanery of Carlisle *to be vacant per translationem* of Dr. Grahme to the deanery of Wells; whereas his lordship observed, that a translation to a second deanery did not make the first void, without a resignation, two deanries being no more incompatible than two archdeaconries.

Dr. Atterbury, upon this, consulted precedents in the signet-office, and found that the

Crown grants had usually ran so in the like circumstances. As particularly when Dr. Sharp succeeded Dr. Tillotson, who was removed from the deanery of Canterbury to the deanery of St. Paul's, and Dr. Fairfax succeeded Dr. Sharp at Norwich. And believing, that if it was a blot, it had never been hit since the Reformation but in the present instance, and that *the consequences it might draw after it* in relation to leases signed by deans made by patents so worded, would demand the most favourable construction to be put upon it, he made no great scruple of it himself, and was accordingly instituted and inducted upon his first patent.

But afterwards taking further advice upon this point, and apprehending his bishop and the chapter of Carlisle might *take all advantages against him*, he obtained a resignation in form from Dr. Grahme, and had his patent passed the great seal a second time by warrant from the Queen, after the date was so adjusted, that the *resignation might precede the grant, and the grant precede the institution.*

However the bishop and the chapter, when they understood the exception that had been made to the first patent, on which he had been admitted dean, were inclinable to dispute the validity of his possession; and the bishop wrote their doubts about it to the Archbishop, who

answered, that what thoughts soever they might have of disputing that point with the dean, yet, if they would give him leave to speak his own thoughts of the matter, he believed, if they did, they would be in the wrong..... "For," says he, "let the patent upon which he was instituted have been never so faulty, yet he having been instituted and inducted upon it, he is, to all intents and purposes, the legal Dean of Carlisle, till he *be legally ejected, and another put in* by a new grant from the Crown; so that he could not tell what need the dean had to get his patent new dated, unless it were to prevent the granting a new patent to any other person, while he kept the deanery, which is the only thing that by this means he hath *effectually done.*"

From these letters just now recited, wherein he declares himself upon the nature of the king's supremacy, according to the English constitution (which indeed was the *chief reason* why any account was given of this affair at Carlisle), a transition is very natural to *his political principles and sentiments.* Which, together with his more public transactions in the affairs of State and common interests of the Church, shall be considered separately and distinctly in the third part of the work.

PART III.

CONTAINING HIS MORE PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS IN CHURCH AND STATE.

HITHERTO Dr. Sharp has been considered purely in his *ecclesiastical* or episcopal capacity; and it would be judged a great omission, if a summary account were not likewise given of his behaviour at *Court and in Parliament*, during so many years attendance on both; especially since the zeal of contending parties hath been apt to disguise men's *real characters*, and either give them credit and esteem, or bring them under slanders and evil surmises, according as their conduct seemed to favour the respective principles and interests of this or that side. His situation was something singular, at least for many years in which he served the late queen; he had constant and free access to her person, and was presumed *to have no small share of her confidence* and favour during her whole administration, under the conduct of different sets of ministers, of different attachments, excepting the last year of her reign, in which he was rendered incapable, through indisposi-

tion, of attending her*. And being considered in this point of view, as it was impossible for him to escape the remarks of a world divided in its sentiments of the public interests, so he would necessarily incur *as much censure on the one hand, as he gave satisfaction on the other.* Yet so guarded and moderate was his conduct on the whole, and such was the good opinion that men generally conceived of him, that his public character was as little struck at, and himself as universally esteemed, as could be expected in those circumstances, and in an age when the animosities of party ran so high, and spared so few.

Bishop Burnet, in his *history* of those times, speaking of the promotion of Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Sharp at the same juncture, to the two archiepiscopal sees, having acknowledged their talents as *divines,* distinguishes upon their *civil characters* in this manner, *only Sharp did not know the world so well, nor was he so steady as Tillotson was.*

As his lordship neither gives any further explanation of this remark, nor produces any instances throughout his whole history to support it, we are left at some uncertainty what construction to put upon it, seeing *it is capable of a more or less favourable sense,* as the reader

* He took his last leave of the Queen May 10, 1713, and died the February following. Queen Anne died August 1, 1714.

shall be disposed to interpret it. If it be meant that he did not understand mankind well enough to prevent their deluding him, or that either through the weakness of his judgment, or easiness of his temper, he was liable to be practised upon; whatever reasons the bishop might have to induce him to take up this opinion, yet they who knew the Archbishop perfectly, will be apt to judge *that the historian knew him not;* and that how skilful soever he might be in drawing characters, he missed the point in this particular instance.

But if his lordship only meant (and considering his style, it is the most natural to think he meant no more,) that Dr. Sharp *was not thoroughly versed in the policies of the court, nor absolutely attached to a party,* there is great justice and *truth in the remark.* And though it might perhaps, in the learned historian's view of things, *even under this light,* derogate from his character, so far at least as he is represented upon the comparison *inferior* to Archbishop Tillotson in those respects, yet all people have not the same ways of thinking. It will serve rather to increase than lessen his reputation with others, who are likewise capable judges both of *men and things;* and discerning enough in this case to see what was the most *becoming* his function and station.

Without entering into any part of Dr. Tillotson's character, whose memory is generally and most deservedly esteemed, let the just part be done to Dr. Sharp's, concerning the distinction made between them.

He was, as is confessed on all hands, *a plain-dealing man;* one who neither disguised his sentiments on any occasion, nor feared at any time to take the liberty of following his own judgment. He was so great a stranger himself to *wile and dissimulation,* that he might be rather *too slow* in discerning it, and *too backward in suspecting it in others;* for which reason he was not perhaps so skilful as some others are in penetrating into the intention of an intricate conduct, or shrewd in discovering men's designs at a distance, not for want of good natural discernment, but for want of that *acquired sagacity* which is only to be attained by long *observation and study on the dark and shadowed, the concealed and disagreeable side of human nature.* He studied mankind more as a *divine* than as a *statesman,* and had a much clearer and quicker apprehension of what men *ought to be,* than what they *really were,* or might prove. If he sometimes judged wrong of particular persons, it was owing to a generous motive (which was the effect of the natural openness and honesty of his own heart), that he cared not to be jealous

and mistrustful of those with whom he conversed. This would indeed have been a disadvantage to him in an intriguing world, had he not withal been master of so much prudence as to prevent his taking *too much* upon trust, and to secure him from being *injured* by any abuses of his goodness; and *helped by intriguing*, he would have disdained to be.

How far therefore he was a politician or courtier, is not so easy to say, as it is that he did not *affect* the character of being so in any sense, nor aim at any reputation of skill in things that were out of his profession. Whatever *he might know of the world, yet he was never forward to tell the world all that he knew of it;* which is too much the temper of some *who value* themselves upon such knowledge. He was not given to *talk much of state affairs*, or deliver his judgment upon them, nor indeed did he seem to meddle with them farther than he was bound in discharge of the duty he owed to the crown and his country.

The affairs of the Church of England were the things that lay at his heart. In these he interested himself deeply and zealously. He looked upon himself in that post which no *intriguing had obtained to him, but Providence had allotted him* to be one of her chief pillars, and was resolved to support her with all his might. And the

plainer man he was in himself, the less he regarded the world, and the less tincture he took from the court in which he conversed, the better was he fitted for this service. He *gained more credit* and interest to himself and the cause in which he was engaged *by his native air of probity and openness* in his whole conduct, than he could have done, had he studied and practised the arts and refinements of the subtilest politicians, or admitted the least mixture of chicane into his address.

But as all men, at least all who are worthy of the public notice, are commonly reputed and voted by the world to be either of this or that *party*, so was he, how much soever he disliked those mischievous distinctions that kept up the animosities and jealousies of a divided people. They who were *called the Tories*, or the High Church party, *claimed him* as theirs; for he was observed more generally to approve and favour their principles, and to go more along with them, than those of the other side. But whatever he might be reputed by the world, yet this may be as truly said of him as of any man who was his contemporary, that he was a fast friend to the Constitution both in Church and State. In this *he was "steady**;" and did both heartily

* Allusive to Bishop Burnet's comminative comparison of Sharp to Tillotson, p. 252.

espouse whatever he thought conduced to its preservation and security, and constantly oppose what in his judgment tended to innovation and alteration in it. But when the main point was secured, he was not solicitous about party contentions, for he looked upon them, as he often declared, "*to be mere struggles who should be uppermost.*" Nor did he seem, as will be hereafter shewn, in several instances, to change or vary in his sentiments, either of things or persons, though others were pleased to change their sentiments of him, as this or that party happened to be "uppermost." And from hence the reflection of *his not being steady* might possibly take its rise.

"*To be on the side* (as he said) *of the established government, and to endeavour to maintain that, was not to be a favourer of parties and factions, but that they were the factious, they were the setters up and abettors of parties, who endeavoured to destroy, or unsettle, or disparage, or in the least to hurt and weaken the government and the laws as they are established; let the principles upon which they went, or the pretences they made, be what they would.*" And he adhered to this principle of preserving the constitution, and pursued this rule of attachment to the establishment with such steadiness and uniformity, that neither the influence of private friendships, nor the entreaties of the

party that claimed him, nor the persuasions of the ministry, nor even the personal applications of his royal sovereign, were of weight and force enough to engage him in any thing that in his own judgment did not well consist with this principle.

And here we see the whole compass of his politics. But as so short and general an account of them will avail little towards vindicating his character from party suggestions, and clearing him of those unjust suspicions which some were pleased to entertain concerning him, it is requisite to be something more particular upon this head, and to make use of all the light that either his diary, or any other testimonies to be met with at this distance of time, can throw in upon this part of his character; and to shew that he followed no scheme but the good of his country, was in no interest but that of the constitution, and *was a fast friend to the act of settlement upon the House of Hanover.*

It may not be amiss to observe, in the first place, how careful he was to avoid all approaches to politics or party concernments in his sermons. He judged the pulpit to be of all places the most improper for the publication or even suggestion of men's private sentiments concerning public affairs or state matters. Much less could he bear to have the doctrines of

Christianity give place to a laboured descant upon civil government, princes, and administrations. So far indeed as *subjection to the higher powers, praying for those that are in authority, and preserving peace and unity,* were Gospel duties, and of an obligation distinct from that of national laws, so far he urged and insisted upon them, on all proper occasions, and charged them upon men's consciences. But even when he did this, he always took care to let his audience understand that he was acting within his own province and sphere as a divine, least he should be thought to be influenced by any civil considerations, while he was laying down the common duties of Christianity. Thus when he opposed himself to *that separation from the established Church,* which was made at the Revolution, when it was pretended by some that they could not join in prayers for their Majesties, he introduces his consideration of that point with these words.

"With men's differences as to their notions about the politics, I am not concerned. Let them frame what hypotheses they please about government, though I do *not like them,* yet I do not think myself bound *to preach against them.* But when these differences are come to that pass, that they threaten both the civil and ecclesiastical peace, there I think no minister

should be silent." And then he proceeds upon Christian principles to argue against schism and Church divisions; and shews how unreasonable the pretence was, which was laid hold of after the happy Revolution. And so again upon another and more remarkable occasion, viz. before the House of Lords, in a sermon which was afterwards appealed to and quoted by both sides in the trial of Dr. Sacheverell; though the discourse was professedly as the occasion required, upon the duty of subjects to their civil governors, yet he took care first to establish his own right to speak to *that point* in the pulpit, and to answer all the objections which are usually made to the clergy when they handle that subject. And then he took care to speak to it purely as a *Christian duty*, and to distinguish it from all questions of law, which he professed he would not concern himself about.

"*In all those instances* (says he) *wherein this argument falls under the cognizance and determination of Parliaments, or judges, or lawyers, we do not pretend to meddle with it. We meddle not with the politics, we meddle not with prerogative or property; we meddle not with the disputes and controversies of law that may arise about these matters, but preach a company of plain lessons of peaceableness, &c.... Such as will at this day hold in all the*

*governments in the world, whether they be kingdoms or commonwealths**."

Nor is there to be observed in any other of his occasional sermons upon fast and thanksgiving days, nor even at the solemnity of the late queen's coronation, any thing further said of the then present state of the nation, than was necessary to answer the ends of the appointment of sermons on those days. So careful was he to shun the *appearance of a party man in the pulpit*. For how zealously soever he might in his civil capacity espouse, or oppose, what was as yet in agitation and debate, yet he could not endure to have the *Cathedra Christi* made the stage of contention. He was grieved to see it prostituted to the venting of private resentments, or publishing reflections against governors and administrations, and thought the dignity of it debased, even when it was used to a more excusable and plausible purpose, viz. for the pronouncing panegyrics upon crowned heads, and attempting vindications of their political counsels, although the characters drawn by the preacher were ever so just, or his allegations in defence and honour of their government and administration ever so true. For besides the impropriety of entering upon topics quite

* Archbishop Sharp's Sermons, Vol. II. p. 47. 49.

foreign to the business of the ministers of Christ; even upon a foot of discretion and prudence, such digressions are hardly to be justified. For it always looks like an imputation of weakness in a government, to suppose it should stand in need of such public suffrages and encomiums of the clergy; and it argues weakness in the man who gives his voice for it *in this way*, if he supposes that he can hereby do real service to the public, and something more than weakness, if he designs no more by it than to recommend himself to the favour of the reigning party.

And this should be considered as the reason why he never enlarged even upon so great a topic as the Revolution in his sermons, although the occasions were likewise such that he could not be wholly silent about it, as may be seen in his fast sermon, May 21, 1690; and his thanksgiving sermon before the House of Peers, November 5, 1691; and before their Majesties, November 12, 1693; and at the coronation of Queen Anne; in which, though he delivered himself briefly upon the matter, yet what he said was full and home, and as much as he judged consistent with the liberty that a preacher ought to take on such occasions.

And yet no man was more sensible of the happy effects of the *Revolution*, both as to Church and State, than he was; *no man came more*

heartily into it. Nor did he barely acquiesce in the being satisfied with it, but did as much contribute as was in his power to recommend, support, and perpetuate the establishment upon the foot on which it was then settled.

When he first went down to his diocese, he found the minds of several, both of laity and clergy, perplexed about the Revolution; and some of them alienated from their Majesties. And he was as willing as he was able to give every one the satisfaction they desired, when they applied themselves to him; as some did by letter, others in person. He had cases of conscience put to him about the lawfulness of taking the oaths to the government after the Revolution. By his answer to one of these cases, his sentiments will appear. The question was, *How a person who had sworn allegiance to King James, could with a good conscience take the same oath to King William?* To which he answers directly, "That the laws of the land are the only rule of our conscience in this matter, and we are no further bound to pay obedience to governors*, nor to any other governors *than*

* The sense here is a little obscured by the shortness of the expression. The meaning is, *we are no further bound to pay obedience to governors* (viz. with regard to the extent of our obedience) *than the laws enjoin. And we are no further bound to pay obedience to any as our governors* (viz. with respect to the persons who are the proper objects of it), *than the laws enjoin.*

the laws enjoin. If therefore King William, in the eye of the law, be our king, we must in conscience pay obedience to him as such. I take this (says he) for a certain truth, that as the law makes the king, so the same law extends, or limits, or transfers our obedience and allegiance; and all oaths imposed by the law oblige the conscience no further than the law meant they should oblige; only this is always to be remembered, that whatever obedience the laws of the land require of us, it is to be understood with this proviso, that it be not contradictory to the laws of God. But in that case we must obey passively, though we cannot obey actively. And with this tacit condition I do suppose all oaths of fidelity in the world are given and taken."

It is true, he had a very great tenderness and pity for all those who could not satisfy their consciences in this point, after taking advice, and using the best means of information. His inclinations were always to relieve such, and not to distress them. But if he found there was any thing of humour or obstinacy in their case, he would then use what authority he had over them. Thus, having been informed that some few of his clergy had been remiss in the observation of the *monthly fasts*, and reading the *occasional prayers*, and had likewise ex-

pressed some disaffection to the government; he reprimanded them publicly at his visitation (in 1693), telling them, "How unaccountable a thing it was, that any person who had already taken an oath of allegiance to their present Majesties, should refuse to pray for them, especially in such a cause, where, if they had any kindness or regard either to their religion, or to the nation, or to their own private interests, they could not but wish well to it, though they had taken no such oath. That as for those, whether clergy or others, who were dissatisfied upon pure principles of conscience, and behaved themselves modestly and peaceably, keeping their sentiments to themselves, and giving no disturbance to the public, he had as hearty a tenderness and compassion for all such as was possible. But as for those who had given testimony that it was not against their conscience to own the present government, and who had solemnly *obliged themselves by oath to live dutifully under it*, yet, out of a factious or petulant humour, would take all the occasions they could of running it down, he thought their case was widely different from that of the former, and that they ought to be animadverted upon. And, for his own part, so far as any of their offences of this kind fell under his cognizance, he should think himself obliged to take notice of them."

And again, in 1698, after the king had concluded the peace, he took occasion publicly to congratulate the clergy of his diocese, "That their circumstances were altered so much for the better since their last meeting. The nation (said he) was then embroiled in a dangerous and expensive war. That war, through the blessing of God upon his Majesty's conduct, is now brought to a happy issue by the establishment of an honourable, and, we trust, a lasting peace. I hope we are all sensible as we ought to be, of this great blessing, and that it will have such effects upon us as it naturally calls for. One of those effects certainly ought to be, the treating the discontents, and removing the prejudices and animosities (if there be any such left in men's minds), against the present government; and the knitting together the hearts of all the people of this nation in the firmest bonds of affection, and duty, and allegiance to his Majesty. Sure it is hard, that when he is owned the lawful King of Great Britain by all the crowned heads and states of Christendom, there should yet be found any in his own dominions that are not in his interests."

When the *oath of abjuration* was under debate in the House of Commons, and it was made a question whether it should be proposed as an oath to be taken voluntarily, and at mere dis-

cretion, or imposed upon all by a general rule; some of the members (who were not well pleased with the oath, and chose rather to decline it than take it) thought it more eligible to have it enjoined by public authority, and enacted by law, than offered as a voluntary thing to be taken or let alone at the discretion of each person: apprehending that the sanction of the parliament would supersede all private scruples about it. And when a certain member suggested to the Archbishop as his own private reason for voting the imposition of the oath upon all in general, "*that what he could not easily do, if left purely to his own choice, he could do without difficulty if he were commanded:*" to this his Grace answered, "that whatever effect this argument might have upon others who were not members of parliament, yet in you that are one, it is false reasoning. For your voting that the oath should be imposed, makes it as voluntary in you as if it were made voluntary in the act. And besides, (says he) I think you are altogether mistaken in your distinction of voluntary oaths, and those that are required by law as you apply it: for I do think as no law can oblige you in conscience to take any oath but what upon just reasons you may voluntarily take, so on the other side no law can screen your conscience in taking an ill oath, any more than private considerations will."

He was also very instrumental in removing the difficulties which others had conceived with respect to this oath. Some of great note in the House of Peers seemed to refer themselves entirely to his judgment in this matter; not so much upon the belief of his being an indulgent casuist, as of his being a *faithful one*. He did good service to his friends in this way, and was heartily thanked by them for it afterwards. He was likewise very serviceable in bringing back to the communion of the church those who had separated from her since the Revolution, though at the same time they were not to be persuaded to take the oaths. And he was the man who advised and prevailed upon Dr. Higden to publish his *View of the English Constitution, so far as regards the taking oaths to government*, it having been first read over to him and approved. And yet what trifling incidents will serve for party insinuations: *he was suspected by some to be a favourer of the Jacobites*, and their principles, and for no other reason, but because he did not quite drop his acquaintance with, and conceal his compassion for some, who declared that oath was against their consciences. My Lord W—n in the House of Peers, upon the debate concerning the church being in danger, in Dec. 1705, took notice *that a certain noble Lord of that house had educated his sons at a seminary kept by a non-*

juror. The Archbishop, who perceived himself was pointed at, declared that although he had sent both his sons to Mr. Ellis's school, who was a sober virtuous man, and a man of letters, yet he had qualified himself according to the laws when they were sent to him. But that as soon as he was informed that Mr. Ellis had refused to take the oaths he immediately took away his son, who then only remained with him, and removed him to another and unexceptionable place. And this was above three years before the complaint was made in the House of Peers; and was rather an instance of his dislike of those principles he was charged of abetting. Whereas others chose rather to run the hazard of such unreasonable censures and reflections than forego the advantages of so flourishing a school, and such an able instructer of their children. Thus did several persons of note and distinction, and without being thought inclinable to jacobitism, as may be presumed for so doing.

As to his satisfaction in the Act of Settlement, and affection towards the house of Hanover, there never were the least grounds to doubt or suspect them. He indeed opposed the motion that was made by Lord Haversham in the House of Peers, Nov. 15, 1705, *to invite over the Princess Sophia;* and not only so, but took all opportunities of declaring against it, as will be seen when we come to consider his conduct in parliament. But least any

misinterpretations should be made at the court of Hanover, of his zeal in this matter, he took an opportunity (before it came to be agitated in parliament, for it was intimated the year before) by Dr. Hutton, then at Hanover, of repeating to her Highness the Electress, assurances of his integrity with respect to her interests in this kingdom. And how perfectly well satisfied her Highness was in his inclinations towards her, may appear from her instructions given in answer to Dr. Hutton on this occasion. The Doctor's letter is as follows.

"*Hanover, Oct.* 16—27, 1705.

"My Lord,

"I performed your Grace's desire to the Electress, and at the same time told Her Royal Highness how much you have on all occasions declared yourself a steady friend to her, and her illustrious family, on the subject of the succession. She bid me tell you, she knows you very well her fast friend, and is satisfied of the proof your Grace hath given her.

"Her grandson's marriage hath been performed with great joy. His young princess, who refused to be the Queen of Spain to preserve her religion, is one of the best accomplished persons of her sex and quality in the world. She is a blessing to this family, and may prove the

same in time to England and to the Protestant religion.

"Your Grace knows the Elector's character very well. He makes his subjects easy by distributing justice and equity to all sorts of men. He is a prince of nice virtue, and keeps his word to a punctilio: so that he hath an entire credit with all his allies, as well as with all others with whom he hath any business. He hath given many proofs of his courage and conduct in the camp (as he hath served in fifteen campaigns) as well as in the closet.

"Her Royal Highness the Electress is in perfect good health. She wonders at a groundless story that was whispered about in London last year, by which some were made to believe that although the Queen and Parliament should invite her to England, yet she would not come. Her judgment on that subject, as well as on all others, seems to be well grounded. For she thinks that *her Majesty and the Parliament know best what is most proper for their own safety.* Her Royal Highness says she is here in quiet and hath all that this world can give her in her own house; and is very sensible that her sex and age will not allow her to be so useful to the public as she could wish

"Yet notwithstanding, if the Queen and Parliament in their great wisdom, think it necessary

for the good of Europe and the preservation of your constitution in church and state, to have her as presumptive heir in the kingdom; she is willing to comply with what they shall think fit; and seems very willing to employ the remainder of her life for the Queen's safety, and the people's satisfaction. This she thinks by God's providence may *prevent a convulsion in those kingdoms, and preserve them from Popery and a French government, and establish the succession in the Protestant line.*

"Their Electoral Highnesses have all the esteem and honour for the Queen that is possible, and do all they can to keep up a good understanding between her court and their own. They pray for her Majesty's long life and prosperity in particular, as well as in all their churches: to which I have been witness, although it was disputed at London but last year.

"I continue with respect, My Lord,
"Your Grace's most faithful
"Humble Servant,
"Jo. HUTTON."

There had passed before this time some compliments and letters between her Electoral Highness and the Archbishop. Their correspondence having begun soon after the late

Queen's accession, upon occasion of his presenting her Highness with his coronation sermon. There was indeed an odd circumstance attending this first piece of respect from him, owing partly to unusual inadvertency in himself, and partly to the dexterity and dispatch of the bearer of it, viz. that this sermon was transmitted to the princess by the hands of Mr. John Toland*, which, though in reality an accidental thing, yet might have proved unlucky in its interpretation to the Archbishop's character. The Bishop of Sarum, whom nothing could escape, laid hold of it, not indeed more severely than the thing seemed *primâ facie* to deserve. But it either was not believed when reported, or his credit was too well established to suffer by it, though, as the prelate just now named said upon it, "*Had any of us done so, how should we have been talked of.*"

But the true account of this whole matter appears in his diary, minuted by himself at the time when the accident happened, and while every circumstance of it was yet fresh in his memory.

"While I was making up my list of persons to whom I should present my coronation sermon, my servant came up, and acquainted me that one from Sir Robert Clayton and his lady was below. I ordered the man should be brought

* The "Free Thinker" and Infidel Author.

up. After he had presented Sir Robert's and my lady's service to me, he asked me whether I had not received a book yesterday, which was sent me, viz. '*Mr. Toland's defence of himself.*' I told him '*I had.*' He then told me that '*he was the man*' (for I had never seen him before). Upon this we fell a talking about his books and principles. I dealt very freely with him as to both. He owned *he had been to blame;* and that *he had begun to write very young, before he rightly understood things.* He promised he would trouble the world no more about those matters. As for the charge of his denying the Trinity, he declared that *he was so far from that, that he would subscribe all the doctrinal articles of the Church of England.* I asked him whether *he would subscribe the first article* (that which declares the Trinity), *alone.* He answered, '*Yes, ex animo.*' I told him, I would, as I had occasion, do him right as to that matter. But I said, he had, by his books and carriage, given so great offence to the Church of England, that he could never expect but endeavours would be used to censure him. He told me, upon that, *he did not mean to stay here, for he was going very suddenly to the Princess Sophia of Hanover.* He then told me, that the last time he was there he presented her with one of my sermons, and one of Dr. Tillotson's about the *government of the tongue* (as mine was about the

government of the thoughts), and that *he now meant to buy one of my coronation sermons, and present it to her.* I told him, *he should not need to buy one, for I would send her one; and that when my sermon came out, I would send one for my Lady Clayton, and therewith one for the princess;* which accordingly I did the next day. This I think was on Thursday. But when I came to reflect on this act of mine, which was occasioned by my sudden promise to him, not thinking what I did, I very well saw what prejudice it might do me. And thereupon resolved to get this sermon into my hands again, if it was possible; and accordingly, on Saturday morning, I took coach, and went to my Lady Clayton's, and begged of her to let me have that sermon again; or, if Mr. Toland already had it, that she would command it from him. But, unfortunately for me, she told me that Mr. Toland that very day on which she had received the sermon, had got his for the *princess;* and the wind proving favourable (which it had not been for a fortnight before), he had that very night set sail for Holland, in order to go to Hanover. So that it was impossible to retrieve my sermon. This is a faithful account in short of that business."

He received, however, some months after, from the Electress, a letter of thanks for his sermon, with many obliging expressions in it;

which gave him an acceptable opportunity of addressing her highness by letter, and signifying his satisfaction in the prospect of her illustrious house succeeding to the crown of these realms.

"*York, September* 4, 1702.

"Madam,

"I was struck with astonishment to see your electoral highness's name to a letter which I lately received, and much more so, when I had read the contents of it. It was great presumption in one to offer so mean a thing as my sermon to so great a princess; and your pardon for it was all I could expect. But that your electoral highness should vouchsafe me a letter of thanks for it, and that so extremely gracious a one, this was a favour as much beyond my hopes, as it was above my merits. But thus you charm all the world with your condescending goodness.

"It is out of my power to express the grateful sense I have of this surprising obligation; as it is also to make any returns for it, other than those of my prayers. But these I shall never cease to put up to the throne of grace for your electoral highness and your princely issue; that God would multiply his blessings upon you both spiritual and temporal, and preserve you for the support, and welfare, and happiness of this

Church and kingdom. I am, Madam, with sincerest esteem, affection, and duty,

" Your electoral highness's

" Most obliged, most humble,

" And most faithful servant,

" Jo. Ebor.

After this a correspondence was kept open for some years between the Electress and the Archbishop, of which Mr. Bagnall's letter is the next voucher. He returned from Hanover with a compliment from her highness in 1704. But not finding the Archbishop in London, he wrote his instructions as follows.

" *London, June* 18, 1704.

" My Lord,

" When I left the Court of Hanover, which was about six weeks since, and whither I went as chaplain to Mr. Poley. Her electoral highness was pleased to command me to wait upon your grace, and, if I mistake not her very words (which I think I do not), '*to give you her service.*' She would have returned by me an answer to your lordship's letter in favour of your kinsman, Mr. Cholmondley (and which he did not receive till after his arrival at Berlin, from whence he transmitted it to her highness), but my sudden departure from thence would

not afford her an opportunity. I can only add, that she spoke of your grace with a particular esteem and respect. When your grace shall think fit to write to her electoral highness, I would humbly beg the favour that you would vouchsafe to acquaint her, that I had signified her pleasure to you, and to present my most humble duty and service."

The rest of Mr. Bagnall's letter is upon a quite different affair.

They who are inclined to suspect that the Archbishop, towards the latter end of his life, and after the great change made by the Queen in her ministry, dropped his good inclinations to the House of Hanover, and directed his wishes, if not also his counsels, to another quarter, ought to have some good grounds for *their suspicion;* which to them who intimately knew his sentiments and conversation, cannot but seem very unaccountable.

His alienation from the interests he had so long espoused (unless he be also supposed to have been acting a part from the beginning, a supposition the most incompatible with his general character that is possible), must have appeared in some instances or other too notorious to have been kept a secret to this time. And yet he never was charged, at least not openly so, as to give any opportunity of vindi-

cating him, with any *one action* or *saying* that could give the least umbrage of any change in his sentiments concerning the succession to the crown.

It is hard to know what kind of evidence to object against unsupported and wanton surmise; and much harder to guess what degree of evidence may be necessary to overcome the prejudices of party. Whereas there would be little difficulty in clearing up any particular fact or counsels, if any such were or could be charged upon him. In the meantime, such loose and general imputations, however disadvantageous or injurious to his memory, with those who are disposed to relish them, must be left to their own weight, to take their chance in the balance against his more known and established character of steadiness and sincerity, both in his practices and principles.

There was indeed an affair in which he most interested himself in the latter end of the Queen's reign, which, if all the papers relating to it had been preserved, or could have been recovered, might have been very serviceable towards obviating any suggestions of this kind. But though a perfect account of the share he bore in promoting the design *of introducing the Liturgy of the Church of England at Hanover, and procuring a chaplain of the Church of England*

at the Queen's expense to attend on the Princess Sophia (for this is the affair referred to), cannot now be retrieved, yet enough may be produced to shew that he was actually engaged in such a project, and to satisfy reasonable persons in any scruples they may have entertained concerning his adherence to his former principles, from any groundless reports or mere surmises.'

It was in the year 1711, that measures were taken to bring the aforementioned design to bear. The sentiments of the Court at Hanover were sounded upon this occasion, and the proposal met with approbation, *provided a little English court were likewise formed there; and her Royal Highness, by means of a civil list granted her in England, were put into a condition suitable to a first princess of the blood, and the relation she bore to the Crown of Great Britain.* The Archbishop, in all probability, would have been highly instrumental in bringing both these points to bear, had not the great affair of peace, then depending, disconcerted measures and prevented any accomplishment of this design. The occasion of his proposing a chaplain for the Electress, will appear when we come to speak of his care of the interest of the Church of England in foreign parts; it will be sufficient for the present purpose to borrow a testimony as to the other point from a letter of Monsieur Leibnitz

to Dr. Ayerst (then chaplain to the Earl of Strafford), residing at that time at the Hague, by whom this affair was principally negociated, and through whom a correspondence was kept between the Archbishop and Monsieur Leibnitz.

The entire passage of that letter which relates to the matter in hand, is as follows.

"My Lord Archbishop of York* was in the right to take no notice of the point I had touched

* My Lord Archeveque de York a eu raison de ne point toucher le point que j'avois touché dans la lettre que je vous avois ecrité; car cela n'entre point directiment dans son object: et il semble que sans en parler, il y a de la connexion dans les choses, et que l'une est le fondement de l'autre. Madame l'Electrice n'entre aucunement dans tout ce que je viens de vous ecrire. Cette princesse a l'esprit trop eleve et trop content (son etat etant en effect tel qu'on pourroit soûhaiter) pour avoir la moindre pretension aù faire la moindre demande. Mais des personnes bien intentionnées ont grand sujet de s'y interesser. Et puisque my Lord Comte de Strafford, est encore en Angleterre et que my Lord Comte de Rivers, destinè pour venir icy, n'est pas encore en chemin, non plusque je sache; il se pent qu'on aye bientot quelque egard à ce qui est du veritable interest de la nation ét de l'Eglise Anglicane. J'apprends deja que le parti contraire au parti qui a le dessus pretend se moquer et voudroit faire croire que ceux qui ont parlé autrefois en Parlement, et se taisent quand ils ont plus de pouvoir, n'ont pas eu veritablement l'intention qu'ils faifoient pavoitre. Pour moy je ne suis point de ce sentiment et je conçois qu'ils peuvent avoir a present des raisons de leur retenne. Cependant leurs adversaires leurs en feront une affaire un jour. S'ils per-

upon in the letter I wrote to you. For it did not directly fall within his subject, and it seems too, without his mention of it in particular, to be implied, from the connection of the two points, the one being grounded on the other. Madam the Electress has no part in what I have now written to you. That princess having too elevated a mind, and being too content with her present condition (which is indeed such as that a more happy one cannot be desired), to form any pretensions or make any demand. But other well-designing and public spirited persons have great reasons to interest themselves in it; and since the Earl of Strafford is still in England, and my Lord Earl of Rivers, who is designed to come hither, is not yet set out, that I have heard, it may be that some regard will be shortly had to that which is the true interest of the English Church and nation. I understand that the contrary party to that now in power pretends already to make a jest of it, and would have it believed, that they who formerly spoke in Parliament, and *now are silent when they*

dent entierement l'occasion de se faire un merite de un chose, dont la justice est reconnue de tout le monde, et qui n'est pas d'une petite importance pour asseurer la nation et la religion. My Lord Comte de Strafford s'il a la occasion d'entrer en matiere *pourra faire valoir l'interest de l'Eglise, et le sentiment de my Lord Archeveque de York.*

have the power in their hands, had not truly the intention they pretended. For my part, I am not of that opinion. I conceive well enough, that they may have their reasons for their reserve at present. However, their adversaries will one day object it to them as a crime, if they entirely lose the opportunity of making a merit of a thing, the justice of which is acknowledged by all the world, and which is of no little importance to the nation and to religion. If my Lord Strafford has an opportunity of entering upon this affair, *he may allege the interests of the Church and the opinion of my Lord Archbishop of York, as arguments for it.*"

This passage from a privy counsellor of Hanover should seem sufficient to justify him, not only as to his general affection to the interests of that court, but as to the particular opposition he had once made to the address about inviting the Electress into England. For though he was against the proposal of a court of the House of Hanover being kept at London, yet he approved of an English court at Hanover; and at a time too when they who had urged the invitation of the princess into England formerly, did not appear very forward to shew their respects to her in the same or the like way. But as they had their reasons for their own conduct, so had he for his; which might

have been discovered and represented more exactly, if the papers relating to this negociation had not been lost or destroyed in great measure.

Some further instances of his jealousy for the interests of the House of Hanover, and zeal for a Protestant succession, will follow in the course of this narrative*.

In the meantime, let us attend him into the House of Peers, where we shall find him neither

* As concerning a passage in a pamphlet entitled *A Word of Advice to the Freeholders* (and quoted from thence in Togg's Weekly Journal of Saturday, October 13, 1733, number 258,) representing a dialogue between the Marquis of Wharton and the late Archbishop Sharp, upon their happening to meet in the *Court* of Requests, a *few months* before the Queen died, and which the author says, *is known but to very few*, however justly and truly the Archbishop's abhorrence of entering himself into any measures with the then ministry in favour of the Pretender be represented in it, yet it is plainly, from all the other circumstances therein mentioned, *a mere fiction*; so ill calculated in point of time and place as to confute itself. For the Archbishop was not at London during the whole session of Parliament before the Queen's death, or for several months before that. Or, if he had been there, and had really believed the Queen's ministry engaged in such a design as is suggested, it is most improbable he would have moved his suspicion or made his complaint particularly to the Marquis of Wharton, which, if he had done, he had deservedly enough met with the answer said to be given him thereupon. But the whole story seems only contrived to introduce a supposed jest of the marquis's, which, because it is at best but an insipid one, appears, even on that account, to be falsely ascribed to him.

a warm nor a frequent speaker, and yet seldom out of the debate when bills of ecclesiastical concernment were depending. Two bills of this nature, offered themselves in the same session of Parliament in which he was introduced in the House of Peers; and he spoke upon each of them. One was the *Quaker's bill*, debated on February 12, 1691*. The other was the bill for dissolving the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with his duchess, February 16†. He took upon himself the conduct of a bill about *small tithes*, in 1694, framed and prepared most probably by Dr. Stillingfleet, who it seems could not attend the House‡. He bore a great share

* Diary.—On Friday, the 12th, came on the Quaker's Bill, upon occasion of which I first took the boldness to speak in the House.

† Diary.—On Tuesday, the 16th, came on the Duke of Norfolk's bill again. I was with the rest of the bishops. I had occasion to speak about the lawfulness of divorce in the case of adultery.

‡ Diary.—Saturday, April 7, 1694. On Monday night I went to the Bishop of Worcester, about the bill of small tithes. On Tuesday I spoke largely to that bill; and it was ordered, that we should bring in some amendments, and such provisos as we had to offer. That afternoon five or six of us met at the Bishop of Worcester's, and agreed upon alterations and a proviso. On Wednesday I offered them to the House, and spoke to them. That day the bill passed. One alteration was allowed, but the proviso thrown out. In the afternoon I went to the Bishop of Worcester, to give him an account of that matter.

in the debates upon *occasional conformity*, in 1702, and again in 1704. In those upon the *Queen's bounty*, 1703; and in those about the *Church in danger*, in 1705; of which an account will be given in its proper place. On other occasions he did rarely interpose, and then only when matters of real importance to the public were debated, viz. such as immediately concerned either the *prerogative of the Crown*, or *the liberty of the subject*. The first instance of this we have in 1693, on occasion of the bill for frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments. A bill to this effect had passed both Houses in January, 1692, while he was absent, and in his diocese*, but had been rejected by the King. In November following it was resumed; and while it was under debate in the House of Peers, he made the following speech, which being the only one that is preserved, shall be here inserted entire; and the rather, because some things therein foretold, concerning the *effects of frequent elections* and *annual sessions*, may be thought perhaps sufficiently fulfilled, upon experience, since passing the triennial act; which did not take place till the session following, in 1694. The regulating of elections, which he proposed as an antidote or previous step necessary to such

* He left London this winter on December 28.

a bill, has been since attempted by way of remedy, with what success others must determine.

"My Lords, I have always avoided giving you trouble; and I would give you none now, but that I think the matter before us is of so great importance, that if ever I can judge it proper for me to offer my reasons for the vote I am to give, I must judge it so now.

"I was not here the last year when this matter was debated, but I have attentively heard and considered, since the bill hath been now brought in, both what hath been said for it, and what hath been said against it.

"I must confess, though I have a mighty respect for the wisdom and judgment of those noble lords who have spoke for the bill in all the clauses of it, when it was examined in the committee, yet I am so unfortunate, that I can no more vote with them in the gross for passing the bill, than I did in the particulars for the passing the clauses of it. And that I may not seem to dissent without reason, I desire to offer a few things, upon account of which I think myself obliged to give my vote against it.

"In the first place, my Lords, I am afraid this bill is a *little too hard upon the King*; and doth in some measure tend to the *making a change in our constitution.*

"Whereas our monarchy is now equally

balanced by the prerogative of the King on one side, and the privileges and liberties of the subject on the other; this bill seems to cast a great weight into one of the scales, more than it had before.

"I do not say that it is an invasion of the prerogative, or that it is *directly* a diminution of it; but, if I may be allowed to use that word, *it bears hard upon it.* If once the King be obliged to hold parliaments every year, in time of peace as well as in time of war, whether he needs them or needs them not, methinks it makes the way easier, from an annual session, to come to a *constant* session, or at least a committee of both Houses to sit constantly.

"I dare say there is none in this House intends such a thing as this; but I ask, if ever hereafter there should be any man who would in good earnest design to cramp the royal authority, and to oblige the King to take all his measures, both of peace and war, and in the disposal of all offices; I say, to oblige him to take all his measures, as to these things, from a Parliament, or a committee of the same; what more effectual step can be made towards the gaining such a point, than to make a law that should oblige him every year to hold a Parliament?

"I do, as I said, hope and believe, that none

who are for this bill think or aim at such a matter. But if ever there should come a generation of men who should think of it, would it not much tend to the facilitating their business, that there was such a law already made? Would it not be a natural and easy foundation for them on which to raise greater superstructures?

"It will be said, and it is truly said, that the King may dissolve Parliaments when he pleases. And if any such motion as I have now mentioned be made to him, he may reject it.

"Right; he may so. And so his Majesty did the last year reject this very bill. But will his once rejecting such a motion as this hinder it from being offered again? No; we see, by this very bill, that it will not; and when it is offered, will it not be much harder and more offensive in him to refuse it a second time? Will it not cause some ferment and ill humour in his people? So that at last the King must give his consent to it, or be under a necessity of disobliging his subjects.

"And therefore, in my poor opinion, since all *our* properties and liberties are already so well secured to us by law, we *should not make one step to abridge the King of any of his rights*, which have been so long in the possession of the Crown.

"But, my Lords, there is another reason for which I cannot give my vote for this bill; and

that is, I think it will really be so far from a benefit or privilege to the subjects of England, that I am afraid it will be a grievance to them. If Parliaments were now chosen in the same manner, and as easily to come by, as they were in Edward the Third's time, it would perhaps be no great matter how often they sat. But, as the way of election of Parliament men now is, as *their privileges as well as their charges are now grown,* methinks that annual sessions and triennial elections are so far from being desirable, that they will really prove a great burden, as well as a great mischief to the country. *Privilege of Parliament is grievous enough to the people of England as Parliaments now are.* But will it not be much more so, when a law is passed, that there shall be in a manner always privilege, and no such interval that any suit can be commenced and finished? The members of Parliament and their dependants will have *constant* privilege; for I may call it *a constant privilege,* where the intervals of privilege are so small, that no suit can commence and be finished within them.

"If this bill should pass, I hope, that by *holding of Parliament every year,* will be construed no more than that every year a Parliament should be called and assembled; though even that ambiguity of the word may be a snare

to the King's conscience, who is sworn to keep the laws, as well as a handle of making differences between him and his people, if ever any ill humour should work in them. But if by that expression of *holding of Parliaments*, it should be meant that there should be every year a session of Parliament, in the sense that we commonly understand session; I say, if this should really be the law, and *be the practice*, for my part I should think this would prove so intolerably vexatious and chargeable to the members of both Houses, who live at any great distance from this town, that it would be much more heavy than any taxes that have ever been laid upon them.

"But I spoke of a mischief to the country, as well as a burden, by the passing this bill. And truly I think I may reckon this as a mischief. The debauching of people's manners, and drawing them off from their calling and employment to a course of drunkenness and idleness. And I may likewise account this as a mischief, the *alienating people's affections one from another*, and *their being engaged in factions, and piques, and quarrels*. And in truth, if these be mischiefs, the elections of members of Parliament, as they are in our days commonly managed, do as much contribute to these mischiefs, *as any other thing I know whatsoever*. And I dare

say all your Lordships are sensible of it. And I cannot think, that when elections come to be so frequent (as by this bill they are ordered to be), but that these mischiefs will be so far from being remedied, that they will be much thereby increased. There will be in all cities and boroughs a solid foundation laid for debauchery among the populace, and for feuds and animosities among the gentry, which in all probability may last as long as the Parliament, that is from three years to three years.

"I must confess, I should have been a great deal more willing to have given my vote for this bill, had there been a previous *act made for the regulating of elections*, and *for the settling the privileges of the members of Parliament*, that they might be no grievance to the subject in case of constant Parliaments. But when this bill comes without these two things, I am afraid it will do mischief to the country, but no good.

"I beg your Lordships to believe, that I am not against Parliaments, nor against frequent Parliaments. But, in my poor apprehension, they should just be *as frequent as there is occasion for them*. I would not put any obligation upon the King to call them, whether he had need of them or no. In all probability, we shall have *too much occasion for them*, in the circumstances we now are; and I could heartily wish a time

may come when we can live a year without them. When such a time doth come, I should then think it seasonable to have this matter debated; but, at the present, my humble motion is, that it may be laid aside, and that the bill be rejected."

As upon all occasions he delivered his mind freely when he spoke in the House, he ever made voting *a matter of conscience.* When any affair came on, of which he did not think himself so capable a judge as some others of the peers, whose opinions he trusted he might follow, as in *cases of privilege of peerage*, &c. or *in matters of trade*, which lay more out of his way, he would then, after grounding his vote upon the best judgment he could form, make a private memorandum of the reasons that induced him, and enter his own justification in these or the like words: *And I hope I have not done amiss in voting so or so.* Thus he did after the debates upon *the commitment and detainment of the lords in prison**, in November, 1692; and

* His minutes of the resolutions of the House upon this debate, are as follows:—Nov. 12. "I have been every day this week at the Parliament, and staid out all the debates. The business they have been upon is the commitment and detainment of the lords in prison this last summer; and these points I find agreed on, 1st. That to commit to prison, upon a bare suspicion of the persons being ill affected to the government, is not strictly legal, but is to be justified only by the necessity

upon the *Banker's Bill*, in January, 1699, &c. But when he was clear in his own opinion of the justice, or equity, or fitness of giving his voice rather one way than another, then no interests or endeavours whatsoever could engage him or take him off from voting that way; because he made it a rule to be governed, in such a case, by his own judgment, independently of all other views or motives. Some instances of the applications which have been unsuccessfully made to him, may perhaps be worth the noticing.

of the juncture. 2dly. That to commit to prison upon a single oath of treason against a man, is legal. 3dly. That to remand to prison upon affidavit made, that the King's witnesses were not ready, or could not then be procured, though these witnesses *are not then actually sworn*, this also is legal, and so affirmed by all the judges then present, which were ten. 4thly. I think it was acknowledged, that the judges could not remand a man to prison, if it did appear to them there was but one witness against him. But, 5thly, the judges all said (I am sure my Lord Chief Justice did, for I am not certain they all were examined on that question, but the House of Lords took it for granted that this was their sense), that the judges were not bound to examine whether there were two witnesses or no. All that they were to take care of was, that the affidavit was made according to the form that the act of Habeas Corpus directs."

A subsequent memorandum.—"Nevertheless, on the Monday following, it was, to the great grief of my Lord Chief Justice, ordered to be entered on the books, that it is the judges' duty not to remand any man to prison, unless it appear upon oath, that there are two witnesses against him."

In the case of Sir John Fenwick, the King spoke to him and the Bishop of Norwich at Kensington, December 8, 1696; and did, "*with a great deal of earnestness* (as he expresses it) *recommend the passing the bill of attainder against Sir John Fenwick, telling us how much his government was concerned in it. I then told him, that I had always, in my own mind, been against bills of attainder. He bid us consider well of the thing, and he hoped we would.*" But how needful soever it might be for the King's affairs, to have the bill passed, yet he could not come into it; and accordingly voted against it, December 23d. And so did eight more of the bishops, though twelve of that bench were for it. This was grievously resented by the Bishop of Sarum, which occasioned some little ruffle between them, either in the House or in their lobby.

Something was said on this occasion which seemed to reflect strongly on the dissentient bishops (those of them at least who had been promoted since the late establishment of the Crown), as if it were unaccountable how they who "*eat of the King's bread,*" should oppose measures necessary for his service. To which the then Bishop of Bath and Wells is reported to have replied, that "*if he might be said in any sense to eat another man's bread, it was Bishop*

Kenn's. However the Archbishop's sentiments on these expected compliances of the bishops to the Court, on the account of their being personally obliged by the Crown for their seats in that noble House, appear sufficiently, from many instances (which will be hereafter given), of his *non-compliance with the Court measures, when he did not approve them,* and of his asserting his right to judge for himself, in all his votes to be given in Parliament, even when the late Queen herself *pressed him to be,* as she termed it, *on her side.* To be on *the side of the prerogative* (which was his principle, when taken in a proper and just sense), admitted so great a latitude of construction, that sometimes the best friends to the Crown could not come up to what was so termed by the ministry, and yet were blamed as deserters of the interests of the Crown in all critical junctures. And to be sure, whenever this charge was laid on the bishops' bench, it was accompanied with *insinuations* of ingratitude, forgetfulness of favours, and with complaints of their having deceived their friends, and being too late discovered. *A hard case of the bishops,* who, when they are *with the Court,* are scarce allowed to be so upon principle, but are represented either as acknowledging and compensating past favours, or seeking and pressing after future; and *when they are against it,*

though it be acknowledged, perhaps, to be upon principle, yet it will scarce be allowed to be done with honour.

The next day after this dispute happened, viz. on Christmas eve, my Lord of Salisbury writ a letter to him upon the same subject; but he seems not to have regarded what was wrote, making no mention of the particulars of the letter, or of any answer returned to it by himself. He approved in his own mind what he had done; and though he had thereby sensibly displeased the bishop, yet he had the satisfaction of meeting with a favourable reception from his Majesty, with whom he received the sacrament the day following, viz. Christmas day; and upon whom he waited a few days after, viz. January 1st and 14th; and remarks, "*that the King received him without any signs of anger.*"

He had upon all other occasions manifested his affection to his Majesty and his government. He had, in the beginning of the same year, readily signed the association, on account of the assassination plot, with the rest of the lords, *He having first got leave, that a declaration of what was meant by revenging*, should be entered upon*

* The word had been used on a like occasion, (viz. in the association entered into when Queen Elizabeth was thought in danger from supposed practices of Mary Queen of Scots), but

their books, February 27, 1695. He was likewise one of the bishops who, about that time, joined in publishing a declaration concerning the irregular and scandalous proceedings of three non-juring clergymen, at the execution of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins (an account of this was published in quarto, printed for John Everingham). In a word, he told the Earl of Portland, in a letter the year after the attainder of Sir John Fenwick (in which he recommended Mr. H. Finch to the King's favour for the deanery of York, then vacant by the death of Dr. Wickham, but without success), "*that he had never, he believed, done any thing that might give his Majesty occasion of displeasure; and as I do every day* (said he), *pray to God for his Majesty's health and success in all his affairs, so do I desire to live no longer than I do uprightly and conscientiously endeavour, to the utmost*

not explained. Bishop Burnet says (vol. II. p. 169), *great exceptions were now taken to it, as not of evangelical sound.* His Lordship must mean, that it seemed to interfere, in its natural or obvious import, with a Gospel duty. For, in any other sense, it would have been a trifling exception indeed. The resolution at last was, that it should be meant *in a legal sense*, either in the prosecution of justice at home, or of war abroad, with which the Archbishop was well satisfied; not troubling himself, either about the obvious and natural import of the word, or the *evangelical sound* of it, after this *legal meaning* of it was once fixed and ascertained.

of my poor power, faithfully to serve his Majesty in that station wherein his mere goodness, without any desires of mine, hath placed me."

In the late Queen's reign, soon after the meeting of her first Parliament, in 1702, at which time she offered him the almoner's place, and a seat in the Privy Council (both which he at present declined), she put him upon using his endeavours "to make *the bishops vote right*," as it was termed; not suspecting, as may be presumed, his delicacy on that head; and that the same principle upon which he acted himself would forbid his assuming to direct others who had the same claim of liberty to follow their own judgment which he asserted to himself. Her ministers, who knew him better, and probably from greater freedoms which he took in expressing his sentiments to them, seldom touched upon this head, but sought to work upon him through the Queen, to whom he could deny nothing that was in his power to give. And many a conference had he with her Majesty upon this point. Some of which, on several different occasions, shall be noted down from the short memorandums he made of them in his diary on the days that they happened.

Diary, 1704-5. Saturday, January 27. "I was with the Queen again..... She again fell a talking about the bill for qualifying people

to be elected; and earnestly begged of me that I would do what I could against it in our House. She said she depended upon me. I told her, I had as yet talked with nobody about this bill. But she might be sure, if I was satisfied that the passing of it would be prejudicial to the Crown, I should oppose it."

Thursday, December 13, (1705). "She then bespoke me to vote against the bill for excluding officers, which was that day to be brought into the House of Commons. I gave her no promise, but said I would consider."

Monday, December 9, 1706. "In the afternoon I went to Kensington, to wait upon the Queen. She pressed me earnestly to be on her side in all matters that came before the Parliament relating to the prerogative..... She desired I would not be governed by my friends (meaning my Lord Nottingham* and that party)

* Her Majesty knew his attachment to that family, and the reasons of it. He did all that was in his power to shew his respect to all the descendants of his great patron. And the Queen had many applications from him in their favour, and many testimonies of his desire to serve them. And his friendship and intimacy with the Earl of Nottingham (which was preserved to the last) would dispose her Majesty's ministers at this time to be apprehensive that he would be governed by the earl in his votes. But it appeared otherwise, as often as the earl and he happened to differ in their sentiments, which they did in several instances in the *latter end of this reign, as well as in some about this time.*

in my votes in Parliament. I told her, '*I would always act according to the best sense I had.*' That I had a great duty to her Majesty; that I should always show myself a loyal subject; nay, and if she would give me leave to say it, *I loved her;* for which she thanked me. She desired I would never promise my vote, till I had acquainted her with my objections; she said, '*I should be her confessor, and she would be mine;* and if she could not satisfy me, then I should vote as I pleased.' I thanked her heartily for this great favour and condescension, and promised her, that I would consult her Majesty in those things wherein she was concerned, before I voted against her inclinations. And I desired no more than to be satisfied."

This passed when his Grace was just come up out of the country to attend the session that winter; and the next year, when he came to town to the Parliament, her Majesty entered upon the same topic.

1707. Monday, November 3. "I was just come to town, and went to wait upon the Queen and the Prince. I was received very kindly by both of them. The Queen says, she will declare the bishops for the vacancies in a little time, and she will have some talk with me about it. She hopes I will serve her this Parliament. She seemed to intimate, that she was afraid of some

ruffles. I told her, she might be sure I would always be her's; but that I hoped she would give me leave always to vote in Parliament according to my sentiments. That I would always act suitably to my principles, or not contradict them, or words to that effect. By her talk I guess she fears least some of her ministers should be called to account."

Thursday, November 13. "She spoke to me for my assistance or vote in matters that were likely to come before the Parliament with relation to the Admiralty. She said, that the design was against Admiral Churchill, who was one of the ablest men for that service that could be found. I told her, as the merits of the cause were, I should be able to determine how I should act; that I would serve her in every thing that I could, and if I met with any difficulty, I should acquaint her first before I engaged in any party."

Friday, November 21. "She again spoke to me to be of her side as to my votes. I told her I would in all cases where I could act honestly, for that, next to God Almighty, I should desire to please her, or to approve myself to her, I know not which of the words I used."

1707-8. Monday, February 2. "At Kensington the Queen pressed me to serve her in voting against the bill to dissolve the Scotch council,

which is to come into the House on Thursday next. I begged of her Majesty not to lay her commands upon me, for I must vote according to my judgment; and according as I am satisfied what is for the interest of her Majesty and of the kingdom, *for I would make no distinction between them.* I am at liberty whether I will attend or no; and if I attend, I mean to vote as I judge best, however I may displease the queen."

1708-9. Tuesday, January 18. "In the morning I went at eleven to the Queen (after much business dispatched with her, it follows). When I was coming away, she told me, she heard my Lord Guernsey meant that day to bring in question my Lord Duke of Dover's right of sitting in our House, or rather her right to grant him a patent to be duke, and desired my vote for her prerogative. I asked her if that report did not come from the Bishop of Sarum, which she owned. I told her, that I did not know any such thing. But that I believed that patent was questioned by several, and perhaps my Lord Guernsey might be one of them. As for me, I should always serve her Majesty to the utmost of my power; but I must act according to my judgment. That I did not yet understand on which side the right was, but would well consider of the debates, if that matter was brought into the House."

To give but one passage more, and omit all the rest, that are of the same strain.

1709-10. Friday, February 3. "I went to the Queen at twelve o'clock, and staid prayers with her. She then earnestly pressed me to vote against the Bill of Officers, coming up from the House of Commons; and told me it would look strange that I should be the only bishop of the bench that voted for that bill, which was so much against her prerogative. I endeavoured to *convince her it was a good bill.* But though I could not do that, yet I have stuck to my point."

It will be very natural for those who consider him as attached to a party, to interpret all these reserves to his own judgment, as the effect of *a resolution not to drop or desert the Tories.* Had he indeed gone in with that party in every step, this might have been more reasonably suspected. But this was not the case, for he would not only vote against them, but *exert his interest too in opposition to them, as often as he judged they were taking wrong steps.* Two pretty remarkable instances of this shall here be given.

The first in the endeavours he used to prevent the tack of the *Occasional Conformity Bill* to a Money Bill, in 1704. He was entirely for bringing in an act for preventing occasional conformity, and espoused it whenever it was proposed;

but had disapproved of that irregular way of forcing it upon the House of Lords and the ministry by a tack. And though it was a very unusual thing with him to make use of his interest in the House of Commons, yet, upon this occasion, and also at the Queen's desire, he took some pains to frustrate that design. And though *the party in the House of Commons put their whole strength to the carrying this point* (Burnet, vol. II. p. 401), *and were confident* (as he told the Queen), that their number was great enough to carry it (see below, Diary); yet the event was, as the writer of the Annals of Queen Anne tells us on this occasion, "*that, through a great providence, the sticklers for the Bill were strangely disappointed, above an hundred of those who before used to vote with them, having deserted them on this critical occasion.*"

And Bishop Burnet tells us, that *upon the division,* 134 *were for the tack, and* 250 *were against, so that design was lost by those who had built all their hopes upon it, and were now highly offended with some of their own party, who had, by their opposition, wrought themselves into good places, and forsook that interest to which they owed their advancement.* (Burnet, vol. II. p. 402.) But his Lordship, when he assigned this reason, however true in part, might not know that the Archbishop had taken off several then in the House, to whom

his suggestion cannot possibly be applied; by treating with such as neither had *favour at Court, or prospect from thence;* as Sir Bryan Stapleton, Sir John Kay, Mr. Comers, &c. who were particularly influenced by the Archbishop himself, and by his son, Mr. Sharp, then a member of the House, in this affair.

But, at the same time that he joined with the Court in his endeavours to prevent the tack, he spoke with great freedom to the Queen about the occasional bill itself. He told her (Diary), "*that they would* (he believed) *bring it in every session till it was passed,* and that it must pass some time or other; that, if it did not, they would fall upon my Lord Treasurer, in whose power they thought it was to get it passed, *if he was so inclined; there being so many that had dependance on him.* That they were confident their number was great enough to carry the tack, and that he thought the true way to stop it would be, that my Lord Treasurer should send for any one of the leading members, and let them know that if they would not attempt to tack this bill, but let it come up to the House of Lords by itself, he did promise them, that he would do his endeavours with the Lords, that it should pass. But (says he) *I found she liked not this proposal.* I told her it was reported that my Lord had the last session told some of the

members as much as this comes to, viz. had promised them, that he would this session use his interest for the passing the bill. This the Queen says was a mistake. I told her *how good a House of Commons* she had this Parliament, and that she ought if possible to oblige them in such a thing as this, which I was very well satisfied would quiet all.

"A good deal more passed between us about this business. I freely spoke all my thoughts to the Queen, and told her, I had made it my business to represent her to every body as no enemy to this bill; and for that end I had taken occasion to tell them what had passed between her Majesty and me upon this occasion; and I begged her pardon if I had done amiss."

The other instance of his publicly declaring against the Tory measures was in 1705, when they proposed *the calling over the Princess Sophia.* From the first time that this design was intimated by the Earl of Rochester in the preceding Parliament, he could never endure it, as being in his apprehension calculated only to vex the Queen and distract her councils. My Lord Rochester indeed, as well as the Earl of Nottingham, then looked upon as the heads of the Tory party, strongly espoused this invitation; and *with these lords* (says Bishop Burnet), *by a strange reverse, all the Tories joined, and by another*

*and as strange a reverse, all the Whigs joined in opposing it**. And this is represented by other writers as the most remarkable instance of mere party attachments that either this reign or the former had produced. But let the Archbishop's sense of this matter be represented in his own words.

Diary.—Wednesday, Oct. 24, 1705. "When I came home to dinner, I found that a messenger had been sent by the Queen to order me to wait on her at five o'clock in the evening. Her business was to tell me what she had heard. That a motion would be made in our House to send for the Princess of Hanover over, in pursuance of what my Lord Rochester had threatened in a speech the last Parliament, and to persuade me to use my interest with my friends not to come into that motion; which I readily promised her, and told her, that I would always oppose it, as looking upon that project to proceed from nothing but a pique to her Majesty."

Saturday, October 27, 1705. "I then went to make a visit to my Lord Rochester, where I talked with him about his speech the last Parliament, about calling in the heir of the House of Hanover, which I took occasion to oppose as

* Burnet's History, vol. II. p. 430.

a thing perfectly against my sense; and as a thing that was very hard upon the Queen, and seemed designed on purpose to pique her. But he insisted upon the reasonableness of it in case *that we really meant the House of Hanover should succeed* after the Queen's death. For in that case it was necessary the heir should be here *on the spot,* otherwise it would be a mighty advantage to the Prince of Wales, who could presently land here with a French force. I opposed this reasoning as well as I could; and afterwards went to the House, where the Queen made her speech," &c.

Monday, November 12. " This morning the Queen sent for me to come to her about eleven o'clock.....' It was, that she had heard the business of the heir of Hanover would be moved in both Houses, and therefore she desired me to take occasion, if I was talked to about it, to tell every body my sense of it."

Thursday, November 15. " Then I went to the House, where we staid till five o'clock at night. *The Queen was there.* The debate was about an address to the Queen, to call over the Princess Sophia, or, as it was worded, the presumptive heir to the crown. After many speeches, it was carried in the negative by a great majority. All the bishops voted against this address, except the Bishop of London (who

spoke likewise for it), and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who went out."

However, the motion had this effect, that it produced a bill soon after, for the security of the succession, by appointing *lords justices* of England, impowered in the name of the successor to act as if the successor was present. This *Bill of Regency*, notwithstanding it was moved by the Lord Wharton, universally espoused by the Whigs, and *opposed by the leading Tories* in the House of Peers, *he thoroughly approved of*, though in one clause of it he differed from the ministry. "I was one of those (says he,) that voted against my Lord Mayor's being one of the justices; in which vote I went with the Court. But I was one of those who voted for their being restrained from altering the Test Acts, in which vote I was *against the Court*."

But however, her Majesty still suspected the same motion would be made again the next Parliament, as appears by the following memorandum.

1706. Monday, March 25. "At five o'clock I went to Kensington to council. After the council was over, the Queen took me aside, and told me, as my Lord Treasurer had done before, that she had apprehensions of the motion's being renewed the next Parliament, of inviting over the Princess Sophia into England. And there-

fore she pressed me very earnestly, that I would endeavour, in all my conversation, to discourage that matter, and not barely to be silent in it. I told her I was of the sentiments I was before; and should be ready to shew I was so upon all occasions. She asked me if I had not once expressed myself that *I abhorred the thoughts of it.* I told her I could not remember the words, but if her Majesty said I did use those words, I could not doubt but I did."

Now it seems he had dropped such an expression to my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, as he recollected afterwards, and marked it in his diary.

These passages are brought together to confirm what was above observed, that he was steady in this principle, to preserve his liberty and discretion of voting in the House of Peers free from the influence not only of *private friendships* (such as he confessedly had with the Lords Nottingham, Rochester, Guernsey, &c.), or of *the Court* (where yet he had considerable favour and interest), but also of *party*, considered as such; that is, so far as he deemed it *mere faction* or *opposition;* in which case he scrupled not to declare himself fully against it. Indeed, it had been impossible for him, without this temper, notwithstanding the Queen's personal regard for him, to have kept in so good correspondence as

he did, with the Court, during the *whole administration of Lord Godolphin.*

But there is no doubt his interest at Court was principally owing to her Majesty's particular esteem for him, which, as it was the chief reason that engaged his attendance there, and made him in some sense a courtier, such at least as she approved of, will deserve a more particular consideration here; especially as he seems to have *been the only one* that in the various changes of councils and ministers, she *never dismissed*, nor, as far as appears, made any exceptions against, from the beginning of her reign to his death, near the close of it.

It was immediately upon her accession to the crown, that my Lord Nottingham, in a letter wrote to him to persuade him to come up without delay to pay his duty to the Queen (for he was at that time in his diocese), uses these words as his argument. "*I ought to tell you I have good reason to believe that your Grace is more in her Majesty's favour and esteem, than any of your order. And judge whether something more than the ordinary respect of a subject is not due to her from you.*" But, before this, he had taken care by my Lord of Canterbury to send his congratulations upon her accession; *which she took very kindly*, and likewise gave him leave, at his request, and on account of his then indispo-

sition with the stone, not to attend at London till the winter following.

However, the next time she saw my Lord of Canterbury, she could not forbear suggesting her desires, that the Archbishop of York should not only attend the coronation, but preach too, if possible, before her. My Lord of Canterbury represented all this to him in a very kind letter, dated March 28th; to which he answered, April 1st, in the following words.

"My Lord,

"I had the favour of your's this morning, wherein you tell me the Queen will take it well if I attend the coronation on the 23d instant. God forbid that I should ever fail in any thing whereby I can shew duty or pay respect to her Majesty; and therefore, if God bless me with tolerable health, so much health as to be able to perform the journey, I design to wait upon her Majesty at that time. Indeed I meant to have done it without this intimation, notwithstanding her Majesty's gracious indulgence which you acquainted me with in your last. For, upon second thoughts, I was sensible it would be intolerable ill manners for me not to pay my duty to the Queen upon so solemn an occasion.

"As for what you further intimate, that I

must *preach the coronation sermon*, it confounds me so that I know not what to say to it. On one hand I am sensible it is a mighty honour designed me, and I am infinitely obliged to her Majesty, for having so good an opinion of me, as to think me capable of discharging such a work. Yet, on the other hand, my health is so broken with cholics in my stomach, and stone and strangury, that I am altogether unfit to go about any work, and least of all such a business as this. So that if her Majesty will please to appoint any one else for this service, I do not doubt it would be performed much more to her satisfaction.

"But I do not say this with a design of declining the service, if I thought *I should be able to go through with it.* I have too great a honour for her Majesty, not to take the least intimation of her pleasure, to be a sufficient argument for my obedience. And therefore I do mean to set myself to make a sermon upon the occasion. And I do likewise design to set out from hence to London, on Monday, the 13th. But if any thing happens in the meantime that renders me incapable of prosecuting either the one design or the other, I will give your Grace timely notice.

I am, &c. &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

Presently after this, his fit of the stone returned with some violence. But voiding the stone at last, he became able, though with great difficulty, to perform his journey; and preached both with more vigour and more acceptance, than could well have been expected, considering how he was disabled both in body and mind.

After this he had several conferences with her Majesty about ecclesiastical matters; and (says he) "*I thank God, I honestly spoke my thoughts about things and persons. She promised that she would not alter her list of chaplains. I did what good offices I could to my Lord Canterbury, Lord Norwich,*" &c. His stay in town was very short upon this occasion. But, upon his return to Parliament next winter, the Queen offered him the almonry and a seat in the Privy Council, by my Lord Treasurer. But he entreated to be excused from accepting either, especially the former. He went to the Queen; he prevailed upon Lord Nottingham to intercede for him with her; but to no purpose, for,

1702, December 15th, "The Queen sent for me, and again pressed me to take the almoner's place. I refused it as much as I could; but she would not give over urging it; and when I left her, she bid me consider of it, and would not take a denial. I afterwards met my Lord Treasurer at the Scotch Commission. He gave me

a paper containing that it was entirely necessary for the Queen's service I should take this place. I then got my Lord Nottingham to go once more to the Queen, and get me off; which he promised to do, but endeavoured it in vain. So that on Saturday morning I waited again upon the Queen, and told her, if she would force me to it, I must obey. I told her, I would take it upon these terms, that she would dismiss me with the first convenience. And that I should have liberty to go into the country as I used to do; and that I should *not have the care of providing for any more sermons than what fell while I was in town;* but that in my absence she should speak either to the dean of the chapel, or her *clerks of the closet,* to take care of them."

Accordingly, on Friday, February 5th, he *received the Almoner's seal.* And February 11th he was sworn at the Chancery bar for the office of *Commissioner for the Scotch Union;* and March 20th following, he was sworn a *privy counsellor,* with Lord Thanet and Lord Guernsey. And the Queen afterwards told him, that she intended to make him dean of her chapel, if the Bishop of London should drop. And in every thing shewed her inclination to oblige him as much as she could. And he, for his part, made it his endeavour to discharge his duty towards her in the best manner, as her divine or

casuist, with respect to her spiritual concerns; as a good *bishop*, with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, and as a faithful *counsellor* in state points.

In the first of these capacities, *as her pastor*, she trusted very much to his fidelity and skill. She not only allowed him to enter with her into warm discourses about religion, which he often did, when he found proper opportunities for it; but she would send for him on purpose to discourse with her on *practical* duties, especially before she received the sacrament; and lament to him upon some occasions, *that she was really so taken up with business, that she had not time to say her prayers.* The particulars of these discourses were not always noted down by him in his diary, but only mentioned in general. "At this conference I said to her a great many things about religion." December 31, 1705. Or, "I talked sundry matters with the Queen, but chiefly religious." Or, "I had a great deal of talk with her about the preparation for receiving the sacrament." Or, "I had a good deal of talk with her about the exercise of devotion." Or, "All our talk was about religion, the difference between wilful sins and sins of infirmity, and sins of ignorance; about preparing for the sacrament; about saying one's prayers, &c. In short, I was sent for to-night purely as *a confessor*."

March 30, 1711. "After chapel I went up to the Queen (she having sent me orders by a

footman so to do). Her business was to talk with me about her receiving the sacrament on Easter day," &c. And he would charge things which he thought amiss very home upon her, if they were such as pertained to her conscience. As in the case of the Savoy Hospital, where, upon a visitation, the four chaplains had been deprived by an order of the Lord Keeper. July 31, 1702. "*I took occasion, from the naming of the Savoy (this was in November,* 1707,*) to tell her Majesty of the sad condition of that hospital, which was now desolated by a decree of the Lord Keeper Wright's; and that she ought to restore it again; nay, and to refund all the money she had received from it, for it was sacrilege to touch those revenues.*"

He spoke often and freely to her about methods of restraining the licentiousness of the town, of *regulating the play-houses;* of the hurt done to *city apprentices,* &c. by the plays *on Saturday nights;* of *shops kept open on Good Friday,* and other *indecencies* of that sort, which he thought it became the government to prevent. And then, as to her other affairs of a public nature, whether civil or ecclesiastical, she admitted him to an intimate participation in her counsels. *In things relating to the Church, he was her principal and guide.* In *matters of state,* he was *her confident;* one to whom she could disclose her thoughts at all times, and in whose *faithfulness* and friendship she could entirely

trust; though she could not always depend upon his *judgment* in those matters. For, as was before observed, he was a stranger to all that sort of politics which consists in intrigues, cabals, and party schemes; and would have nothing to do with the struggles of the other courtiers and great men *striving to surmount each other*, not so much in her Majesty's favour, as in the great offices and posts in the government. When her Majesty was pleased to acquaint him beforehand with any of her designed changes in the ministry, he would give her his advice very freely. And when alterations were made without his privity, and when he was absent in his diocese, he would as freely speak his mind to her about them after they were made*.

He quite disapproved of her giving herself up to the conduct of any ministry or set of men whatsoever; and the more so, when she took into favour those *whom he knew she disliked;* or when she suffered herself to be prevailed with to *do any thing inconsistent with her former declarations.* These things consisted not with his

* "*Cui bono?*" For some persons may incline to think, that there was more of honest temerity than of seasonable freedom in such *backward* proudness to utter his mind, the changes being effected without asking his advice. But the good Archbishop, as he cannot now *suffer* by his plain dealing, so, were he living, probably could answer the query. Perhaps the Queen liked the compliment to her understanding, implied in such "free speech."—*Editor.*

politics, how well soever they might pass at Court. And when he was expostulating with her on such occasions, and sometimes using what he calls "*very hard words*," as, *Poor Queen! that he truly pitied her* .... and *prayed God to inspire her with more courage* .... *that such or such things were a reflection on her government; or owing to the influence of those who govern you, madam, and govern us all*, or the like; her Majesty would then sometimes vindicate her proceedings, and at *others look grave and be silent*. But he never could perceive that she was in the least angry with him, for this his frankness in declaring his mind; or that she was the more reserved towards him in communicating her own designs and thoughts. And she had indeed *this admirable temper and disposition* (which in a princess is the more extraordinary and valuable), that *she could not bear any thing that looked like flattery*, but could allow and *bear well with plain-dealing*, though it were such as could not be agreeable to her on any other account but for the sincerity of it, and the true friendship it denoted. Of this he had abundant proof from what he observed in many of his conversations with her. And though what he said himself to her could not furnish him with any evidence of her dislike of compliment, yet he had proof of it on other occasions, and in some instances where it was known only to himself.

One was, that when his friend, Dr. More, then Bishop of Norwich, was publishing King William's Prayers* to be used before the Communion, with a preface, in which her Majesty was spoken of in a very deserving, and what she feared, too deserving a manner, and he acquainted her with my Lord's design, *she desired, that if he would publish it, he would leave out all that concerned her in it.*

Another was, when she put into his hands the new form of prayer for the *inauguration office*, for his perusal and amendments, she insisted upon his striking out one expression in that petition which relates to God's making her *a mother of children, who, being brought up in thy fear, and taught by her example;* these last words, *taught by her example*, she begged might be erased, which was accordingly done, and some other amendments made by him of lesser moment.

Her Majesty had likewise another quality, exceedingly commendable and becoming her station; and that was, her readiness in acknowledging every body's liberty to judge for themselves, and in making all reasonable allowances for those who could not think of her affairs as she did. This moderation in her he often expe-

* These were composed by Archbishop Tillotson, and were printed at the end of his posthumous works by Dr. Barker. Vol. xiv. 8vo.

rienced, as might be observed in what was said above, about his voting in Parliament. Here follows a passage or two more to the same purpose. After a close expostulation with her about the measures she had lately taken, he adds,

"I had a great deal of talk more of this kind. I assured her that I loved her, and would do her all the service that I could. Nay, and if she should use me ill, I should always behave myself as a dutiful subject. She told me she hoped I would always do what *she desired.* I told her if *she desired reasonable* things, I would. She said, she would desire no other. I answered, I must be satisfied in *my own* judgment, that they were reasonable, for I acted upon principles, and must satisfy my own conscience. She over and over again desired me to endeavour to allay differences, and to contribute my endeavours that things in this Parliament might go on peaceably and smoothly." .... Again; "I took occasion to assure her of my own fidelity and sense of her favours, but told her I could not come into all her measures. She told me she *never desired any body to vote against their conscience, even at her request.*"

And with respect to the bishops particularly, she told him (it was upon the nomination of Dr. Bull to St. David's, March 6, 1704-5), "*that*

she should always desire that the bishops she put in should vote on the side that they who call themselves the Church party do vote on."

Had her resolution been equal to her judgment, several difficulties, and perhaps some blemishes, in her administration had been prevented. She declared to his Grace, more than once, *that she would neither be in the hands of the Whigs nor of the Tories.* And when she, of her own accord, gave him the early notice (it was on December 16, 1707), *that she meant to change her measures, and give no countenance to the Whig Lords, but that all the Tories, if they would, should come in;*" she added, "*and all the Whigs likewise, that would show themselves to be in her interests, should have favour.*"

But though some particulars that passed between her Majesty and his Grace concerning the two parties and their respective principles and behaviour (upon which subject her Majesty would sometimes deliver her sentiments with that freedom that intimate friends take, and which she used with him in *talking about persons as well as things;*) are here purposely omitted, as not relating immediately to his Grace, and as being of no consequence to the world, and likewise for other reasons given in the preface; yet it seems to be a piece of justice due to her Majesty's memory (and this appears to be the most

proper place for doing it) to declare to the world, *and accordingly it is here solemnly affirmed,* that in all their private conversations, as they appear in the Diary, there is not the least ground to suspect, that her Majesty was not fully satisfied in the *Act of Settlement,* and firmly attached to the present Constitution and Establishment, both in Church and State; nor is *there the least intimation or suggestion of any kind for the interests of the Pretender.* And but a single passage in which their discourse occasionally turned upon him, and that too upon his Grace's own motion, who seemed designedly to sound her sentiments and inclinations upon the subject, that he might do her justice among those who appeared to be jealous of her. The entire passage is this.

1708-9. Saturday, February 5. "I had a great deal of talk about public affairs. I told her that the great jealousy of the nation was, that some people were too much inclined to the Prince of Wales. That all our fears were about Popery, and the eluding the Protestant succession, as established by law. She declared, that she verily believed all sorts of people in the nation, whether Whigs or Tories, were inclined to the Hanover family, as is settled by law. And that she knew *none of her ministers, but were in the same interest.* I am sure I interpreted her words to this sense. She seemed to adhere to

the Protestant settlement, and seemed to have no manner of doubt about it, though I insinuated that all our jealousies did proceed from some of her ministers; and from the little care that was taken at the last invasion for the suppression of it. But she answered all this, and urged the address of Parliament, of thanks for the care that had been taken."

No doubt he was fully satisfied with this declaration. And if afterwards he had either heard any thing from her, or observed any thing about her, so long as he had the honour and happiness to be near her, that should lead him in the least to suspect any alteration of her sentiments or inclination in this point, it can hardly be conceived (considering the great freedoms he took in his discourses with her about affairs which he judged of importance to the Church and nation), either that he should have been silent to her, or *should not have minuted his conference* with her on that subject, as he has done in the place above recited. Whereas no such thing appears in his notes, to the very last day (May, 10, 1713), when he took his final leave of her Majesty, being disabled the winter following from waiting upon her in town. It was observed above, with what difficulties and under what sort of composition, he accepted the Almoner's place. But he found it not only more trouble-

some than he expected, but the Queen more earnest and desirous to retain him in that office, and have him about her. He found trouble and delays in procuring from the Treasury the money allotted for the almonry. And when that was in arrear, he would lend the Queen, and sometimes borrow out of her privy purse, what was sufficient to supply the demands of her pensioners. He told her once, that "*if my Lord Treasurer would not pay up his arrears, it would be necessary for them to shut up shop, for they should have no money for the Maundy.*" He used to tell her, in a pleasant way, that "she owed him so much;" which she would generally pay him with her own hands; and for a specimen of her private charity through his hand, let us take one of his computations of all that he had received from her Majesty in a winter.

April 25, 1711. "I have been casting up what money I have received of the Queen since my coming *to town till this day. And find I had of her* 270 *guineas; and some time after Christmas* 100 *guineas. On February* 24*th, I had* 70 *guineas; on March* 15*th,* 100 *guineas; March* 27*th,* 5 *guineas; at Easter,* 400 *guineas and* 100*l.*" *And afterwards, before he left London,* 150*l. more. In all,* 1237*l.* 5*s.*

And then the *providing preachers* before her Majesty, was another thing that gave him trou-

ble, because he found it difficult to do it without sometimes *giving offence.* For, though he avoided doing so as much as he could, yet exceptions could be taken for very small matters, which came not into his Grace's considerations in the appointment of an able man for that service; such as the preacher's *being reputed an high man*, and not so acceptable to the then ministry. Which is not so much to be wondered at, when it was objected to a very learned and pious prelate, whom he substituted to supply one of his own courses, *that he would be unacceptable, having voted for the Princess of Hanover's being invited over*, whereas his Grace, though himself against that vote, had no thought of making so trivial a thing an exception to his being a preacher. And then, if any thing happened to be taken amiss in a sermon, he was pretty sure to hear of it, and obliged to apologize either for his clerk or for his choice, which he thought the harder upon him, because he observed that he himself could not always escape the censure of the audience.

1706. December 16. Monday. "In the afternoon I went to Kensington, where I had a long private discourse with the Queen. . . . . Afterwards about providing preachers for her in my course. I represented the hardness of it to her, unless I might use her name. *She said it belonged*

to my place. She asked me why I would not preach myself at Christmas, and the next inauguration day. I told her I could not, for I was grown *old, and past making new sermons.* And besides, I told her I had no reason to be forward in preaching before her, because I found the last sermon I preached gave offence to some of the auditory. She would not believe it." Nor would any body believe it who knew how cautious he was in his sermons at Court, least they should give offence; for which reason they were generally *practical.* We have an instance of this his superabundant care in the time of Sacheverell's trial. He preached a sermon he had composed on Ephesians iv. 1. But he left out the former part of the text, *I the prisoner of the Lord beseech you;* upon which he had a fine and pathetical introduction, for fear he should be thought in that preface to touch upon Dr. Sacheverell.

But his greatest trouble, and what he told the Queen was *a torment to him,* was the incessant application that was made to him from all parts for some share of her Majesty's bounty. He had so much tenderness in his nature, that he was not able to refuse his endeavours to succour the distressed. And his applications to her Majesty were so frequent on their behalf, as had not her disposition been exceedingly

beneficent, must have tired out her patience. No wonder then he was so solicitous to get rid of this *troublesome office.*

1704. Tuesday, November 14. "I told her I hoped that between this and next year, some new bishop might be made, to whom I might resign the Almoner's office. She smiled, and said, 'I must not, or I hope not,' or some such word."

1706. Monday, December 9. "In the afternoon I went to Kensington, to wait upon the Queen. Afterwards I begged of her to think of some one to be put into my place of Almoner. For that I was weary of and incapable of serving it. And that I had done all that I promised, which was to take it for a year or two, till she was better provided. And I was sure there were enow she might pitch upon, and begged of her to advise with my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Marlborough. I mentioned particularly the Bishop of Norwich, for whom she declared she had a kindness. But the Queen would not hear of my quitting this place, notwithstanding all that I said."

At other times he spoke to the same purpose. March 25, 1706. Twice in the year 1707, he offered to resign (April 21,) his seal; and the second time "*he did it upon his knees. But she would not accept of it; though (he says) she expressed*

great kindness to him, and said, that she had not heard any ill representation of him."

On March 8, 1709-10, he offered it again, alledging, "that *he* had no other consideration that prevailed with him to continue in it, but the prospect he had of doing good to the Church and to worthy persons, by recommending them to her. She told him he *should not quit his post.*"

But, as desirous as he was to resign his seal, two things should be remarked, the first is, that so long as he kept it, he would not suffer the Almoner's rights or privileges in the least to be invaded. The Lord Chamberlain claimed some right of presenting two Maundy women, and had firmly asserted it. "*But I* (says he) *persisted in denying it; and March* 19, 1706-7, *would have made him see clearly, that neither he nor any body else could have a right so long as I had the Queen's patent. But I told him, I would be as civil to him as my predecessors had been.*"

The other is, that he would not offer to resign his seal at any time, when he might be suspected to be moved to it by the influence of party. Thus, in 1705, October 25, "*The Duke of Buckingham told him, he wondered to hear that he had not resigned his almoner's place.*" And in 1708, April 15, discoursing with the Queen, "*I had some talk* (says he) *about Mrs. Masham, whom I*

find she hath a true kindness for. She seemed to be pleased that I would not at this time offer to resign my office till I was turned out. At least at present she said she would not turn me out."

Her Majesty never seemed, except at this particular time, to have had any thoughts about removing him from her immediate service. And though she had some such thoughts then, yet she took care to let him see she had no such inclinations, whatever part the necessities of state might oblige her to act. She had formerly signified her desires to him, that he should never be parted from her, as in 1704-5, Wednesday, March 21. He had taken occasion before her to speak "*what a world of good a clergyman might do by applying himself wholly to the making people good.*" He added, "I told her I hoped in a little time I should be excused from meddling in any state matters; and that I should have time to apply myself to the same work. She told me, she hoped that would never be as long as I lived. And indeed all his life long she expressed herself with so much kindness and affection for him, as shewed this declaration to be sincere. His Grace could not help taking notice sometimes of the particular courtesy wherewith she treated him; especially at their salutations, when he came to town, and their adieus when he left it. Thus, October 2, 1705,

"*She treated me with all the kindness and freedom that ever she did in her life.* She told me she hoped all was quiet at York. I told her (pleasantly), '*Yes, we were there most of us Whigs.*'"

March 25, 1706. "I desired her commands into the country, and pleasantly asked her whether I might leave the town with a good conscience, that I was not under her Majesty's displeasure. She assured me I was not."

In the year that the prince died, he made his first visit the day after the funeral.

November 14, 1708. "I waited upon the Queen, who received me very kindly. We both wept at my first coming in. She is in a very disconsolate condition. I said all that I could by way of comfort to her. She asked after my health, and hath given me leave to come to her whenever I please."

And at their last farewell, May 10, 1713. "*She parted with me,*" says he, "*with all the expressions of kindness and good wishes that could be.*"

But perhaps the greatest mark of her esteem and friendship for him was given by her *after his death,* in the immediate appointment of the man whom he desired to be his successor. There was no favour she could have obliged him in equal to this. Sir William Dawes was a person, whom, for his very great worth and abilities, and *inviolable attachment to the in-*

terests of the Church of England, his Grace had adopted in his wishes to succeed him in his pastoral charge. For he was a man of gravity and prudence, of decency and courtesy, of singular presence of mind, of extraordinary resolution and constancy, and yet of a moderate and cool spirit, and of exemplary regularity and exactness in all parts of life. And he had moreover a very *strong and vigorous constitution,* which fitted him to execute with ease the most laborious parts of the episcopal function, which in Archbishop Sharp's judgment was of no small *moment in the choice of a bishop.* Upon these considerations (not to mention Sir William's other natural and personal advantages, viz. a tenacious memory, a graceful mien, a fine address, and a sweet elocution). He drew the Queen's affections upon that baronet. And having first procured him the bishopric of Chester, and made experiment of his prudence and assiduity in the management of that large diocese, he made the way more easy for his removal from thence to the metropolis of the province.

It was said above, that in the affairs of the Church he was her Majesty's principal guide. This is in good measure true, with respect only to ecclesiastical promotions, though more evidently so in other Church affairs, as will be

shewn hereafter. At present let it be observed, that the interest that he had with her Majesty he chiefly employed in procuring preferments for learned and worthy men; or at least her bounty for such of them as were in distress. He had been formerly, as was related above, an useful friend to men of literature and merit, while he was chaplain to Lord Chancellor Finch, and recommended to preferments in the gift of the seals, and no less so in the commission* appointed by King William for approving and recommending to his Majesty fit persons to succeed in the Crown preferments; in which he was joined with my Lord of Canterbury; and the Bishops of Ely, Sarum, &c. And the same desire of providing the Church with able men, prompted him to labour this point with the Queen; in which he had more success than any *one man* in her reign, though not so much as he might have expected, could she always have followed her own judgment or inclination: *For her ministry were constantly interposing and directing her in the disposal of eccclesiastical preferments, as well as of civil and military offices.* So that frequently she was not at liberty to yield to his influence, and follow his advice.

* The first commission was granted April 6, 1695. And a new one was granted, May 9, 1700, which Mr. Le Neve has printed in his Lives and Characters, &c.

Yet this regard was had to him, notwithstanding, that the Queen would rarely give her promise without his advice, and, generally speaking, consent first obtained. And he did not prove unworthy, either of this her Majesty's confidence in him, or condescension towards him. For he neither would oppose any man of real worth, upon account of party distinctions; nor would he consent to her preferring any man whose religious principles or morals were ill spoken of or suspected, though he were otherwise of great abilities, *useful to the ministry, or favoured at Court.* He had remarkable struggles with great men upon this score, but he held to his point, and he prevailed, at least as to the promotions *in England.* He could not bear she should give her preferments to persons who had no other merit, no other title to her favour, than their zeal for a party. And he thought it hard (and used to tell her Majesty so), that men of known virtue and learning should not share in these favours, *purely because they fell under the denomination of party men.* He laid before "*her the ill consequences she would find if she made distinctions of persons as to high and low Church, in the disposal of her Church preferments.*" He must mean, if she made *party* her only or principal rule in the bestowing those preferments. For at one time (as he observes)

she refused persons, as he thought, for being Tories. (1705.) At another time, when he recommended, the reason given for the refusal was, that the person he proposed *was a notorious Whig.* (1713.) He imagined she might depend upon the goodness of her own judgment as to the worth and fitness of persons, if she would but make use of it. And told her, when he proposed several to her for a vacant bishopric, "*that whether she put in any of his naming or no, she should put in one of her own choice, and not have one put upon her by others.*" It is true, that most of those who succeeded in preferments through his friendship were reputed Tories. Yet his applications for his own friends were made with all the justice and fairness that could be to the characters of those of the other party, who happened to have the same preferments in view. For instance, when the living of St. James's was void by the promotion of Dr. Wake, his Grace proposed Dr. Moss *as a fit person for it;* and the Queen told him, *She had thoughts of him herself;* yet Dr. Trimnel being occasionally mentioned, *he gave her a very good character of him**. In which, though he did no more than

* He had before said to my Lord Sunderland, in a letter, June 14, 1703. "*I heartily wish Dr. Trimnel had some good preferment in the Church; for he well deserves it, and indeed I do not know a better man. If my good character of him to her*

what was just, yet probably Dr. Trimnel was more obliged to him for this lift, than to all the interest that was made by his other friends. And the same may be said of the great Bishop Bull, of whose late promotion, though the Archbishop of Canterbury seemed to claim the merit, yet she told the Archbishop of York, that "*She would not have done it, but for the great character he had given her before of this Dr. Bull.*" He indeed did not rightly approve of this promotion, on account of the doctor's great age. He thought his merit should have been rewarded some other way; and as it was a reflection on the government, that a man of such worth should not be earlier preferred, so it might prove a detriment to the Church, that he was preferred so late. And as to Dr. Beveridge, who naturally occurs to the mind upon the mention of age and learning among the English bishops, his Grace reminded the Queen, "*that her father King James had in her hearing declared him to be the learnedst man we had in our Church.*" He delighted indeed in giving her Majesty good characters of her clergy, and would never give a bad one, though true, unless the interest of the Church obliged him to do so. He used to grieve and

Majesty can add any thing to her Grace's (viz. the Duchess of Marlborough,) *recommendation, I am not only ready, but shall be glad to give it at all times.*"

complain of the strange misrepresentations which he observed were made to the Queen, of persons who deserved her favour and countenance. He set her right as often as he had opportunity, and would sometimes "*have* (as he says) *warm talk with her about those who made false representations of persons to her Majesty.*"

And he had some reason too to expostulate with her on this head, upon his own account, for there were some who had endeavoured to represent him to her Majesty, as not being true to her interests, as both my Lord Godolphin and my Lord Marlborough had acquainted him, though the Queen herself took no notice of it, nor seemed to receive the least impressions to his prejudice.

But to proceed to his other acts and services for the benefit of the clergy, and honour of the Church of England. In all ecclesiastical affairs during the Queen's reign, he was principally consulted, and as he applied himself more closely to those as being most properly within his sphere, so his application generally met with success, and turned to good account. The point that claims to be first considered under this head was, that glorious and ever-memorable act of the Queen's reign, commonly *called her Bounty.*

The thought was originally from Bishop Bur-

net in the late reign, as is related in his life, much to his honour. His lordship drew up two memorials upon it, which he presented to the King, one in 1696; and the other in the year following; copies of which the Princess of Denmark obtained; and she also seconded his motion to the King; *but it did not then succeed.* His Lordship afterwards made Lord Somers a friend to this scheme, and likewise the Earl of Godolphin, who (as the author of Bishop Burnet's Life observes) *afterwards carried this design into execution.* And this he did with the assistance of the Archbishop of York, to whom he gave the first intimation of her Majesty's disposition to give back the first fruits and tenths to the Church, on the 6th of January, 1703-4. And also gave him hopes, that upon application of the bishops to her Majesty, something of that kind might be effected. Upon which he went to the Queen, January 10, and spoke to her upon that head, where he met with a disposition equal to his desires, only she thought it was better not *to make the design public till the manner of executing it was in some measure adjusted with my Lord Treasurer.* Which being done, the following message was agreed upon between my Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop, to be sent to the House of Commons, then sitting.

"Anne R

"Her Majesty having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, to give them some ease, has been pleased to remit the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy. And for an augmentation of their maintenance, her Majesty is pleased to declare, that she will make a grant of her whole revenues arising out of first fruits and tenths, so far as it now is, or shall become, free from incumbrances, to be applied to this purpose. And if the House of Commons can find any proper method by which her Majesty's good intentions to the poor clergy may be made more effectual, it will be a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to her Majesty. St. James's, February 7, 1703-4."

This message was on the same day delivered to the House by Mr. Secretary Hedges, and was well received, most of the members having been apprised of it before. The Archbishop had upon this occasion turned solicitor, and applied personally to Sir Thomas Pelham, Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Simon Harcourt, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir John Holland, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John's, and others, who were leading men. The same he did also in the House of Lords, where there was rather more

occasion; for there the bill bore a long debate, and was carried only by a small majority. "*The Bill for applying the tenths and first fruits,*" &c. *says he,* "*was committed to a committee of the whole House. We had a long debate about it. The Whig Lords, and some of the Tories, about four, opposed it. All the bishops were unanimous for it. I spoke twice in it. We carried it by seven votes, the non-contents being* 27; *the contents,* 34."

In the meantime the Convocation were very early in their address of thanks to her Majesty for her gracious message to the House of Commons. And it was thought proper, that the Archbishop and Bishops of the province of York should join with them in the address upon that occasion. Whereupon he was pitched upon to present it; my Lord of Canterbury being at that time disabled from going abroad. But this created an unexpected difficulty upon both the archbishops. For it was suggested to his Grace, at Lambeth, that his appointment of the other archbishop to appear at the head of the bishops and Convocation of the province of Canterbury, *was giving up his rights,* and what he could not do, having, by an instrument of substitution, appointed the Bishop of Worcester to represent him in Convocation. And therefore that bishop was to present the address. This my Lord of Canterbury signified to the Archbishop of York

by letter, who was very willing to decline the office that had been allotted him, least he should seem desirous to invade a jurisdiction in which he was not concerned. But it so happened that the Bishop of Worcester could not be prevailed upon to present the address himself; which occasioned a second letter from Lambeth, to contradict the purport of the former, and to acquaint the Archbishop of York, that it was now necessary for him to head the Convocation, that being the day on which the address was ordered to be presented: my Lord of York not knowing what use would be made out of his engaging again to perform that office, by those who had instilled the former jealousies into his Grace of Canterbury, wrote the following letter to the Archbishop.

"*February* 14, 1703-4.

"My Lord,

"I had the favour of your Grace's letter by your servant, which indeed so surprised me, that I was not sorry the business of the Lords' House this day offered so fair an occasion of getting the Queen to put off the presenting our address till to-morrow. My Lord Treasurer was pleased to undertake that matter, and accordingly was gone to the Queen before I had your second letter by the Bishop of Wor-

cester. I suppose it was his Lordship's unwillingness, or rather refusal, to present the address, together with the straightness of time, for the taking new measures, that inclined your Grace so to alter your sentiments, as to desire me in your second letter to present the address. But now, my Lord, as it has happened, you have time enough to settle that matter as you please.

"I beg of you, therefore, if the Bishop of Worcester persists in his refusal, that your Grace would be pleased, some time to-morrow, to send your deputation to the Bishop of London (who will be in the House to-morrow, and *who in your Grace's absence may expect such a substitution*), or to any other of the bishops whom you shall think fit to attend the Queen with the address of your Convocation.

"I assure your Grace, it never entered into my thoughts to break into your Grace's jurisdiction, by putting myself above your substitute in any matter relating to your Province. But since your bishops designed this as the address of thanks of *all* the bishops of England, and accordingly worded it so in the address; and told me, that I must present it, and the Lower House made no objection to it; I made no scruple of sending to Mr. Tillot for a copy of it. But I hope there is yet no harm done, and

that there may be none done, I humbly desire your Grace to order somebody else to carry it to the Queen, only altering the title by putting *Archbishop*, instead of "*Archbishops*," and leaving out "*of the Church of England.*"

"I am, your Grace's

"Most humble servant, &c."

But nevertheless, the next day, February 15, upon repeated instances from my Lord of Canterbury, and to prevent any miscarriage on such an occasion, and to preserve the appearance of unanimity in the Convocation at that juncture, he undertook the presentation of the address, and read it accordingly to her Majesty.

And that the clergy of his own Province might not be wanting in their compliments on the same occasion, he himself drew up the following address for the *Convocation at York*, and presented it to the Queen in *their name*, on the last day of the same month.

"May it please your most excellent Majesty,

"We the clergy of the province of York, in Convocation assembled, do, for ourselves, and on the behalf of all our brethren of the same province, who were present, humbly beg leave to throw ourselves at your Majesty's feet, in most hearty and thankful acknowledgments of your Majesty's most pious and affec-

tionate care for the Church of England, expressed in your late message to the House of Commons; wherein your Majesty is graciously pleased to declare that you will give your whole ecclesiastical revenue of first fruits and tenths, as it shall become free from incumbrances, to be applied to the augmentation of poor benefices throughout England.

"We cannot forbear saying, that your Majesty has, in this surprising instance of your kindness for the Church, outdone all your predecessors since the Reformation. They took care that our holy religion should be purged from the errors and superstitions with which Popery had corrupted it; and they took care likewise, that it should be so transmitted to us. And for this their memories will be for ever blessed. But your Majesty not only takes care to preserve our religion in the same purity, and to protect our Church in all its legal rights and privileges; but has farther taken care also, that the minister of it shall in due time have a competent maintenance. The want of which provision was indeed the great if not the only blemish of our Reformation; and therefore doubly blessed will your Majesty's memory be in all succeeding generations.

"As we are sure that this pious and charitable act of your Majesty is highly acceptable to

God, who fails not *to recompense even a cup of cold water given to a prophet in the name of a prophet;* so we cannot but hope it will have such an effect upon all your Majesty's subjects who love our Church and religion, and especially upon us of the clergy; that we shall endeavour more and more (if it be possible) to express our zeal for your Majesty's service. And particularly we shall think ourselves obliged every day to put up our most earnest prayers to God Almighty for your Majesty's long life and happy reign over us. And that for this exceeding good work he would add an abundant increase to the glorious rewards that we doubt not are laid up for you in the heavenly kingdom."

To which her Majesty returned the following answer, drawn up likewise for her by the same hand.

"Gentlemen, I take your address very kindly. It is my desire that all the clergy should have a comfortable maintenance, especially those of them who faithfully do their duties to God and the Church. Such it shall always be my care to support and encourage."

My Lord Halifax was pleased to observe to him, upon this answer of her Majesty's, "*We know,*" *says he,* "*what the Queen means in her answer to your York address; but we cannot so well understand her answer to that of the Convocation here.*"

He continued very active in whatever related to the completing this design; as, in the dispatch of the charter, providing a place for the commissioners, attending regularly and constantly himself, &c. Nor was he wanting in his solicitations for the like bounty to the clergy of Ireland. He presented their petition to her Majesty on March 13, following; in which they besought her to be as kind to them, in granting her ecclesiastical revenues there, as she had been here in England.

And when difficulties arose to some private clergymen, on the grant of the bounty, from the Attorney-General's opinion, *that it was not proper to do any act which might lessen the Queen's gift;* and therefore my Lord Treasurer doubted whether it were proper to remit the arrears of tenths, which from some persons were considerable, he interposed in behalf of the clergy in arrear, "*and alleged that the forgiving their debt could not be a lessening of the general gift, since the general gift was only designed for the ease and benefit of particular men. That, as he took it, the Queen's grant had only respected the tenths and first fruits that were to become due after passing the act, but did not extend to the arrears of them. That the discharging the arrears of abundance of the poor clergy was necessary, especially such as were contracted before their incumbency.*" And in another

letter to my Lord Treasurer, dated June 19, 1703, he has these words:—" I was in hopes, before this time, to have heard of a privy seal for the pardoning all the arrears of tenths due from livings not above 30*l.* per annum. Good my Lord, give me leave to put you in mind of this." He pressed this matter both to the Queen and Lord Treasurer with some warmth. And no doubt the indigent clergy were exceedingly obliged to him for it.

Another ecclesiastical affair, and of public concern, upon which he was consulted and employed, was the healing up the divisions between the upper and lower House of Convocation for the province of Canterbury. In 1700 and the two following years, differences and *disputes about convocational rights and proceedings* had been carried on with some vehemence. Several papers, *pro* and *con*, had been published, and several able and great men had been concerned on both sides. Some asserting the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his suffragans, to continue or prorogue *the whole* Convocation; others maintaining the liberty of the lower clergy, as having a right to convene and to dispatch, or rather prepare matters in the intermediate days of prorogations; and others challenging to them an independent power of sitting, and rising,

and adjourning themselves at discretion. These disputes having run a great length, the Lower House petitioned they might have leave to address the Queen to take this matter into her consideration, and appoint persons to *hear and finally determine it.* But the Upper House thought it not proper that her Majesty should be troubled with their controversies. Thus things stood in the latter end of 1702. And the next winter, upon the meeting of the Parliament, the Court apprehending these difficulties might still increase, my Lord Treasurer took an opportunity of speaking to her Majesty before his Grace (November 11, 1703), and "*desired her that she would command my Lord of York to take some pains in putting an end to the differences in Convocation; for that he believed both parties, by his Grace's means, might be brought to an accommodation.*" And three days after, my Lord Treasurer wrote to him the following letter.

"*Sunday Night, Nov.* 14, 1703.

"My Lord,

"In pursuance of what I mentioned the other day to your Grace before the Queen, I understand Dr. Atterbury designs to wait upon your Grace to-morrow morning, with intentions to submit all to your conduct.

"If you please to give him such a favourable reception as may encourage his endeavours towards composing the difference in the Convocation, I hope it may lay a good foundation for the peace of the Church, and great advantage to her Majesty's service from it.

"I am, with great respect,

"My Lord, your's, &c.

"GODOLPHIN."

He applied himself accordingly to concert measures with the members of both Houses; but chiefly Dr. Atterbury, of the Lower House, and the Bishop of St. Asaph, of the Upper (Dr. George Hooper). And in nine days time he met the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Cockpit, November 23; when they agreed upon a meeting between two of the Upper House, on the side of the Bishops, and two of the other side. And the differences were for the present at *least laid asleep*. The world hath been already too much acquainted with the subject of these controversies to make the repetition of it, at this time of day, either necessary or desirable. Nor do they, indeed, fall properly within the compass of these Memoirs, to take any further notice of them, than that the Archbishop acted in this matter as a mediator or umpire.

But some years after (1710), he thought their *sitting and acting*, when all these disputes were blown over, *might be of service to the Church;* and accordingly he proposed it to the Queen.

Thursday, November 30, 1710. "I had a good deal of talk with the Queen about the Convocation acting, which she is willing they should, *provided the matters they are to act upon be first concerted.* I mentioned, upon this occasion, the Prussian affair. She told me of some new injunctions which my Lord of Canterbury had put into her hands, and which she would put into my hands to peruse."

Of the Prussian affair we shall give a more particular account hereafter. In the meantime, the sitting of the Convocation was forwarded, and at an appointed meeting for that purpose at the Bishop of Rochester's; where the Earl of Rochester, Mr. Harley, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, were present; the Archbishop of York proposed three several things for the Convocation to consider of, if a licence were granted for them to sit and act. 1. The state of the Church, and the mischiefs that were done by blasphemous and scandalous doctrines and papers which were spread about. 2. The affair of the King of Prussia, *who seemed inclined to introduce the Liturgy of the Church of England into his kingdom.* 3. The turning the writ *de*

excommunicato capiendo, into a writ *de contumaci*; to prevent excommunications upon the mere trivial or pecuniary matters. He was desired to put these into writing, that they might be considered of and laid before the Queen. Upon which he sent for Dr. Atterbury, then Prolocutor; Dr. Smaldridge, and Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, and committed to them the drawing up these minutes, which were afterwards, at another meeting in the same place, January 13, 1710-11, read and examined. Some things were struck out, and some few amendments made. Then they were delivered to Mr. Harley, to be transcribed fair, and laid before her Majesty. But before that was done, it was thought proper to have the judgment of some other prelates about them. Whereupon another appointment was made on January 20, at which, besides the above-mentioned company, were present, the Bishops of Bristol, St. David's, and Exeter; who unanimously agreed, that the heads before adjusted, were proper to be treated of in Convocation. *He would have added another proposal concerning bishops being provided for the plantations.* But, as my Lord of London, who had a right to be consulted first on that project, was not there, the thing was dropped.

The Queen afterwards told him, that she

approved of all the minutes that had been laid before her about the Convocation, and, that she meant to send to every bishop to come to her, and that she would send my Lord Dartmouth to my Lord of Canterbury, to prorogue the Convocation for one week longer.

Having set the design upon this fair footing, he was obliged to leave the execution of it to other hands. For it was not proper for him, as he belonged to another province, to concern himself further in it.

There were other ecclesiastical matters, about which he had formerly conferred with the Prolocutor, as being proper subjects for the Convocation to take into their consideration; such as these. To think of means to *prevent clandestine marriages*, by enforcing the canon about licences. To find out a method of restraining ecclesiastical officers from *taking exorbitant fees*, and of regulating Spiritual Courts. To consider of one book or *form of Singing Psalms* to be used throughout England, and the like. Upon which he thought the Convocations might be both *usefully and inoffensively employed*.

But though he thought of these things, and suggested them in a private way, yet it doth not appear that he took any further steps towards bringing them to bear. He might probably be apprehensive, that the times in which

he lived were not seasonable for such proposals; and that the *reformation of discipline* and establishment of new rules and orders, even in small matters, were to be maturely considered and thoroughly canvassed by men of other professions, as well as of his own, before they could be properly carried into execution.

What opinion he had of the Established Church of England, will best appear from his own words, delivered upon a very solemn occasion, and in a very solemn manner.

"If we take our measures (says he) concerning the truths of religion, from the rules of the Holy Scripture, and the platform of the primitive Churches; the Church of England is undoubtedly both, as to doctrine and worship, the purest Church that is at this day in the world; the most orthodox in faith, and the freest on the one hand from idolatry and superstition; and, on the other hand, from freakishness and enthusiasm, of any now extant. Nay, I do further say, with great seriousness, and as one that expects to be called to account at the dreadful tribunal of God, for what I now say, if I do not speak in sincerity, that I do in my conscience believe, that if the religion of Jesus Christ, as it is delivered in the New Testament, be the true religion (as I am certain it is), then *the communion of the Church of England is a*

safe way to salvation, and the safest of any I know in the world."

And to this same purpose he has declared himself a thousand times, when he hath occasionally spoke of the blessings we of this kingdom enjoy in our national Church.

But though he esteemed our ecclesiastical establishment as valuable in itself, and gave it the preference to all others now in being (and perhaps no man ever considered it more thoroughly, or spoke of it upon better informations and surer grounds than he did), yet he was far from thinking it so perfectly constituted as not to allow room for improvements, *especially in regard of discipline, which had never been effectually provided for,* and which likewise, from time to time, had been gradually impaired and enervated by encroachments upon it from the temporal courts. Neither did he think the Liturgy so exactly reformed, as to admit of no further amendment, had there been opportunity of attempting such a thing with safety. Though he admired the *communion office,* as it now stands, yet, in his own private judgment, he *preferred that in King Edward's first service book* before it, as a more proper office for the celebration of those mysteries; nor was this the only office that he thought might be rendered more suitable to the respective occasions

for which they were compiled; which judgment probably he had formed from that examination of the Liturgy which he was concerned in, as one of the ecclesiastical commissioners in King William's reign, for reforming the Liturgy and Canons. But though he had these sentiments, yet he ever blessed God that our public worship was so pure as it is; our rites so simple and inoffensive, and our discipline in no worse a state, all things considered.

But what most commendeth his zeal for the Ecclesiastical Establishment is this, that it was always accompanied with moderation and tender compassion towards those whose consciences would not allow them to comply with it. He was generally thought a warm man against the dissenters; but this opinion of him seems rather to be grounded upon another equally mistaken one, viz. his supposed inviolable attachment to a party, than upon any just reasons. He pressed his arguments against separations, and schisms with warmth and earnestness in his sermons and writings; but it will be seen in them also, with how mild a temper and with how Christian a spirit he treats the dissenters themselves. He compassionates their weaknesses, but never exclaims at their obstinacy, or attempts to raise resentment or indignation against them. So that, if he was their adversary (and in one sense

he was a very formidable one, yet in another he was as reasonable and fair a one as ever they had to deal with. He never treated them or spoke of them otherwise than with that calm spirit which visibly runs through his writings in their controversy; and as he hated every thing that had but the appearance of bitterness and violence against their persons, so *he was even shocked to hear them vilified and maltreated in the pulpit, which he abhorred should be prostituted to such purposes.*

It is very true, he did oppose their *occasional conformity*, and bore his testimony for the bills that were brought in to prevent it.

Diary.—"I spoke as well as I could for the bill, and not to my own dissatisfaction, I thank God. December 14, 1703." It is true, likewise, that in the debates about the Church being in danger, in 1705, though he looked upon them as most other people did, to be mere party struggles, and not occasioned by any real apprehensions of what the title of the bill imported, yet he offered two or three clauses which *seemed* to bear very hard upon the dissenters. These were the remarkable occasions of his appearing against them in public; and they who knew his particular reasons for it, might naturally conclude he was either influenced by the party that opposed them, or was

himself an enemy to that liberty of conscience which by the favour of the government they enjoyed. But when his reasons, and the particular part in those debates which he bore, are known, the injustice of both those imputations will sufficiently appear.

Some of the first difficulties he met with in his diocese, were from dissenters taking advantage of the Act of Toleration to break loose, and assume greater liberties than were designed them by the act, or perhaps were justifiable upon any construction of the words of the act. Among other complaints, that *of their setting up schools and private academies, was the hardest to find any remedy for.* As he always proceeded with temper and caution in such matters, he applied to his brethren, the bishops in the south, for their advice; and his friend, Dr. More, Bishop of Norwich, procured him the opinion of some of the best civilians upon it. With respect to one particular academy set up within his diocese, he had the following kind and prudent direction of Archbishop Tillotson, whose letter the reader will not be displeased to have at length.

"*Lambeth House, June* 14, 1692.

"My Lord,

"Yesterday I received your Grace's letter concerning Mr. Frankland, with the copy

of an address to your Grace against him. Yourself are best judge what is fit to be done in the case, because you have the advantage of enquiring into all the circumstances of it. If my advice can signify any thing, it can only be to tell your Grace what I would do in it, as the case appears to me at this distance. I would send for him, and tell him, that I would never do any thing to infringe the Act of Toleration. But I did not think his case came within it; that there are two things in his case which would hinder me from granting him a license, though he were in all things conformable to the Church of England. First, his setting up a school where a *free-school* is already established; and then, his instructing young men in so public a manner in university learning, which is contrary to his oath to do, if he hath taken a degree in either of our universities; and I doubt, contrary to the bishop's oath to grant him a license for doing of it; so that your Grace does not, in this matter, consider him at all as a dissenter. This I only offer to your Grace as what seems to me the fairest and softest way of ridding your hands of this business. With my humble service to Mrs. Sharp, and my hearty prayers for your health, and long life, to do God and his Church much service, I remain, my Lord, your Grace's very affectionate brother and servant,

"Jo. Cant."

Another consequence of the Act of Toleration was the dissenting ministers taking upon themselves to perform *parochial offices*, to the grievance and detriment of the clergy of the Church established. In the year 1704 (not long before those debates in the House of Lords, with reference to which these particulars are mentioned), complaints of this kind against the dissenters being renewed, he consulted some of the judges upon this point. His letter to my Lord Chief Justice Holt, with his Lordship's answer, are as follows.

"*Bishopthorp, May* 29, 1704.

"My Lord,

"Having always found you so ready to give me your advice in any matter wherein I have had occasion to consult you, and for which I must ever own my great obligation, I humbly beg leave to propose to you a case wherein I am now concerned. But I do it in such a manner, that if your Lordship do not think proper to declare your opinion in this case, I then do not desire it, but only desire your pardon for my giving you this trouble.

"I have, my Lord, complaints from some of my clergy, that the non-conformist ministers do them a great deal of prejudice, by taking upon them to marry, bury, christen children, and

church women within their families. And when they have expostulated this matter with them, they affirm, that the Act of Indulgence doth allow them to do all this. What now to do, I am in this case at a loss. I think it hard on one side, that the dissenters should thus encroach on the Established Church, and yet, if I should prosecute them in the ecclesiastical court for these things, when they have the law on their side, that would be ridiculous.

"As far as I can understand the Act, there is no indulgence granted to the non-conforming ministers, but only for preaching or teaching in the meeting-houses. In one place, indeed, it is expressed, *officiating in any congregation for the exercise of religion allowed or permitted by this act.* But whether *this officiating* for the exercise of religion will extend to marrying, or christening, or burying, or whether such officiating be allowed by this act, I much doubt.

"I would beseech your Lordship, if you have leisure, to look over this act; and let me have your Lordship's advice what I am to do. But if I ask an unreasonable thing, I then beseech you to pardon me, as I know you will. I am, with the sincerest respects in the world, and the heartiest wishes for all health and happiness to your Lordship,

"My Lord, &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

"*Bedford Row, June* 13, 1704.

"My Lord,

"Your Grace may reasonably accuse me of disobedience to your commands, which I received by your's of the 29th last; which I should have more punctually executed, if the weight of the subject had not obliged me to an exact consideration thereof; which at that time the attendance on my business would not permit me to take.

"As to the non-conformist's marrying, they may be proceeded against in the ecclesiastical court for marrying without license, or publication of the banns, or for clandestine marriages, which the Act of Toleration doth not indulge them in. But as for christenings, churching of women, and burials, I know not how to deal with them; though that may be fit to be considered upon the stating of the case upon the canon law; which I have attempted to understand upon this occasion, but cannot fix upon any foundation upon which to proceed.

"I did propose these matters to my brother Powell, and he doth concur with me. If your Grace is pleased *to state any particular question to me upon this answer*, I shall be very desirous and ready to give the best account thereof which I can. For I shall be always

very zealous to demonstrate myself to be, my Lord, your Grace's

"Most humble and obedient servant,

"J. HOLT."

Another inconvenience, which he apprehended as a further consequence of the Act of Indulgence, was, that some people thought to *shelter themselves under it from ecclesiastical censures for not attending the worship of God in any place.* Such there were in his own diocese, and though the act does not in reality destroy or enervate the bishop's power over such delinquents, yet it makes the exercise of it more difficult, and more liable to be evaded than it was before.

Taking now these observations along with us, let us see what part he had in the famous debates about *the Church in danger*, in December, 1705:—"*He owned the Church to be in danger in one sense, as a Church militant having many enemies, among which he named Atheists, Deists, and Socinians. He added, that we acknowledged as much in all our fast offices, where we prayed God, that he would make us sensible of the great danger we were in by reason of our divisions,* &c. *And this was the first reason given afterwards in the protest of the dissentients. He feared likewise very ill consequences, from the many academies set up by the dissenters,*

and the liberties that some of them took from the Act of Indulgence." (And this brought upon him the personal reflection from Lord Wharton, mentioned above, viz. his favouring the seminaries of the non-jurors.) He thereupon took occasion to make three motions. "One, *for putting a stop to the seminaries and schools of the dissenters, and for remedying the laws which were deficient as to the bishop's power over schools.* A second, *for explaining the Act of Toleration, that ministers might not be insulted by the dissenters baptizing children, and marrying and burying within their parishes.* And a third, *that provision might be made to oblige men to go to some Church, or to some meeting, and not to stay at home on the Lord's day.*" Whether he had not good reason to make these motions, after the little satisfaction he had received, and the doubtful answers that were made to his enquiries upon these points, in order to have them put upon some more certain footing, let the impartial reader judge. The first of them was thought so reasonable, that it was insisted upon by the House, and at length carried in part, but not perfectly. As to the question which was put in the House, *that all who went about insinuating that the Church was in danger under her Majesty's administration, were enemies to her person and government* (and which was carried), he voted against it; but would enter into no pro-

testation, though earnestly applied to by several lords to do it*.

And here it may not be amiss to insert what passed between him and my Lord Treasurer, about the Church being in danger, a few weeks before this debate came on in the Lords' House. Meeting my Lord Treasurer, October 25, 1705, in the House of Lords, and asking him how he did, his Lordship coldly answered, "*as well as a poor man could be, that was run down by them whom he had endeavoured to oblige.*" And then he turned away. He was not a little surprised with this answer and behaviour, because he could not guess the reason of it. And "the next morning he sent to my Lord to desire leave to wait upon him, which was granted. When I came to him (says he), I told him, that he had much surprised me with his answer to my salutation the day before. And that I was come to know what I had done that should so disoblige him. He told me, that his answer did not particularly relate to me, but that he meant it of '*all of us who made such a cry about the Church's being in danger.*' I told him, he could not charge me with that; for a great

* In the History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. II. p. 161, it is said, *the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Rochester protested afterwards.* But no mention is made of this in the Archbishop's Diary.

many witnesses could testify, that I had declared I did not much apprehend that the Church was in danger, but *that it was a struggle between Whig and Tory, who should be uppermost;* but that I believed *neither of them meant any harm to the Church.* I asked him whether he had heard I had made any bustle about Parliament men. He said, no; but said he had heard I was one of those who made a noise about the Church being in danger, and commended the memorial, and that the Queen had been also told so. After all, we parted very friendly, and he said, he hoped in his distress he might have recourse to me, or words to that effect. He was often, as I thought, in a great concern, and very near weeping."

Within a few days the Bishop of Norwich told the Archbishop, in a visit, November 3, what had been reported to my Lord Treasurer of him, which explained the matter, viz. "that in his passage down the year before, he had said to some of the clergy that met him upon the road, that he apprehended danger to the Church *through the late changes.*" And another thing, the bishop told his Grace was reported, though not to the Lord Treasurer, that he had said, "though he formerly advised his son and others against tacking, yet he repented that he ever did so. And if it was to do again,

he would have *them* to vote for it. I told him (says he), I had said something to this purpose, *that if I had known how things would have followed, and that they would have used the Church of England men as they did, I should not have advised as I did.*"

These representations of what he had accidentally dropped in discourse, and the use that was made of them, made him more cautious ever after, how he expressed himself when he spoke of public affairs, particularly when he was met some time after by Mr. ——, at Grantham. "*I am sure* (says he), *I kept such a guard upon myself, that all that I said might be proclaimed at the market cross.*" But, to return to the other bill, which chiefly concerned the dissenters.

He had, as was related before, used his endeavours to prevent the tack to the bill of Occasional Conformity; but was withal desirous the bill should pass; and spoke for it. But the point that he laboured was not only a reasonable one, but what all the clergy in England would have been obliged to him for, if he could have carried it. And that was, *indemnifying parish ministers for observing the rubric,* from all such damages as by the Test Act they might stand liable to, for refusing to give the sacrament in any instance wherein the rubric directed repulsion from it. In the debates, December 4,

1702, upon this bill, his Grace applied himself to this point alone. "*I made a speech* (says he) *against the clause that was then brought in to oblige all officers to receive the sacrament four times a year, unless a clause might be brought in to indemnify parish ministers for repelling such from the communion, as by the rubric they were empowered to do.*" This was rather securing to the clergy their rights, than opposing the dissenters in the favour they desired. He thought the consciences of the parochial clergy doing their duty in the administration of the sacraments, were as much to be considered, and to be as tenderly treated as the consciences of those who could occasionally conform. And that it was hard the dissenters should be allowed to act inconsistently, in order to obtain the benefits of the law; while the Church ministers, for acting consistently, and according to rule, incurred the penalties of the law; that is, were liable to the damages which any man sustained by being rejected by them from the communion. There were also several others who voted with him for the bills against occasional conformity, who yet were never thought unfavourable to the dissenters. The Duke of Marlborough, who endeavoured to hinder the bringing in of the bill, and *would have possessed the Archbishop with the ill consequences of it*, yet added, *that let it*

come in never so often, he would give his vote for it, but he was afraid it would break us. Allowances should be made for their different way of arguing, since they both voted the same way. One shewed the spirit of a general, the other of a bishop.

Upon another occasion he opposed the granting a privilege to the meeting-houses equal to that of the Church of England, viz. in the Naturalization bill, 1708-9. "He voted against the commitment of it, March 15, and spoke (as did also the Bishops of Carlisle and Chester) for the alteration of that clause where it was enacted, *that it should be sufficient to qualify a man for naturalization, that he received the sacrament in any Protestant congregation.* They would have had it inserted *in any parish church*, but it was carried against them. There were seven bishops more with them, and six against them."

Before we quit this head, which concerns the dissenters, let *his opinion of their baptisms* be added with that of several other bishops. On Easter Tuesday, 1712, when, according to custom, most of the bishops of both provinces dine with the Archbishop of Canterbury, their conversation turned upon the validity of baptism by lay hands.

1712. Tuesday, April 22d. "At eleven o'clock I went to Lambeth. We were in all

thirteen bishops. We had a long discourse about *lay baptism*, which of late hath made such a noise about the town. We all agreed, that baptism by any other person, except lawful ministers, ought as much as may be to be discouraged; nevertheless, whoever was baptized by any other person, and in that baptism the essentials of baptism were preserved, that is, being dipped or sprinkled in the name of the Father, &c. such baptism was valid, and ought not to be repeated."

This indeed is the sense of the Church of England, as will appear to any person who considers the rubrics in the office for private baptism, and compares them with one another, and with the previous questions in the office itself. From all which, laid together, it may be plainly collected, that where *the essentials, matter and form*, have been preserved, though administered by another hand than that of a lawful minister, the baptism shall not be *so much as hypothetically repeated;* yet nevertheless, it is so far condemned and disapproved, as irregular, and uncanonical, that the child or person so baptized shall not be received into the congregation. But the officiating minister must have recourse to the directions of his Ordinary, as in other irregular, and uncommon, and difficult cases. But as our Church hath no where

openly and expressly declared for the validity of lay baptism, or allowed it to be administered by laymen in any case, how extraordinary soever, some handle is left for disputing or speaking doubtfully about her sense of the matter. Therefore, his Grace of Canterbury, finding so many bishops unanimous in their opinion, thought it would be of public service, if they all joined in publishing a declaration of their sentiments, which would appear as a kind of decision of the point, and might help to make the minds of some men more easy, at least to shorten the disputes then raised upon this question. What his Grace of Canterbury did in prosecution of this thought, the following transcripts from the papers wrote by himself will shew. His letter to the Archbishop of York.

"*Lambeth, April* 27, 1712.

"My Lord,

"In pursuance of the agreement made here by your Grace and the rest of my brethren the bishops, when I had the favour of your good companies on Easter Tuesday, I met yesterday with some of them, and we drew up a paper suitable (as we judged) to the proposal then made. It is short, and plain, and, I hope, inoffensive; and for a beginning, as I

humbly conceive, full enough. I here enclose a copy of it for the perusal of your Grace, and of as many others as your Grace shall think fit to shew it to.

"I send this declaration unsigned, because we who were present desired first to have the opinions of your Grace and others who were absent, and should be glad to know whether you would have any thing added to it, or altered in it, *for we affect not the vanity of dogmatizing*. I hope for your Grace's speedy answer (to-morrow, if it may be), because the evil grows, and we have heard of more odd books and sermons since we met, and of an increase of the scrupulous. And your Grace well knows, that the more timely the check is given, the likelier it is (through God's blessing) to have a good effect. I commend this weighty affair to your Grace's most serious consideration, and yourself to the protection of the great Shepherd of souls, and remain, my Lord,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"CANTERBURY."

"A Declaration, &c. [The title is not yet agreed on.]

"Forasmuch as sundry persons have of late by their preaching, writing, and discourses, possessed the minds of many people with doubts

and scruples about the validity of their baptism, to their great trouble and disquiet, we, the archbishops and bishops whose names are underwritten, have thought it incumbent on us to declare our several opinions, in conformity with the judgments and practice of the Catholic Church, and of the Church of England in particular, that such persons as have already been baptized in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ought not to be baptized again. And to prevent any such practice in our respective dioceses, we do require our several clergy, that they presume not to baptize any adult person whatsoever, without giving us timely notice of the same, as the rubric requires."

To these papers his Grace of York answered the next day in the words following.

"*April* 28, 1712.

"My Lord,

"I had the honour of your Grace's letter (with the Declaration enclosed) the last night. I am entirely of the same sentiments that we all declared we were, when we had the honour to dine with your Grace the last week. But yet, for all that, I can by no means come into the proposal your Grace has now made in your letter; in that we should all *declare*, under

our hands, the validity of lay baptism. For I am afraid this would be too great an encouragement to the dissenters to go on in their way of irregular uncanonical baptisms.

"I have, as your Grace desired me, communicated this matter to three* of our brethren, the bishops, and we have had a full discourse about it, and we are all of the same opinion that I now represented.

"I am, with all sincere respects, and hearty wishes of health and happiness to your Grace,

"Your Grace's most faithful friend

"And humble servant,

"Jo. Ebor."

It appears from hence that he was of opinion, that to leave the question as much undecided, as it is left in the public offices and canons of the Church, was a good security to discipline, and that an open declaration in favour of the dissenters' baptisms, might prove *inconvenient* from the bad use that might be made of it.

The account of this matter is the more fully set down here, because Bishop Burnet has not represented it in a favourable light with respect to Archbishop Sharp. His words are these (Hist. of his own Times, vol. II. p. 605).

* These were, Chester, Exeter, and St. David's.

"The bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to this new and extravagant doctrine (viz. the invalidity of lay baptism), *so a declaration was agreed to*, first, against the irregularity of all baptism by persons who were not in holy orders, but that yet, according to the practice of the primitive Church, and the constant usage of the Church of England, no baptism in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ought to be reiterated. *The Archbishop of York first agreed to this. So it was resolved to publish it in the names of all the bishops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind, and refused to sign it*, pretending that this would encourage irregular baptism."

Whosoever reads this passage, will be apt to take for granted, *that the Archbishop of York first agreed to the declaration;* that upon his agreeing thereto, *it was resolved to publish it*, and that he afterwards *changed his mind, and refused to sign it*. Whereas, though the *resolution to publish* such a declaration was founded on his agreement with the rest of the bishops in their judgment upon the validity of lay baptisms, yet he was not apprised of any *such resolution*, till the Archbishop of Canterbury communicated it to him, and then he disapproved of it. My Lord of Canterbury does indeed mention in his letter, a proposition that was made at Lambeth

to this effect. But it appears by Archbishop Sharp's answer, that although he remembered well the conference they had on that subject of lay baptism, yet *this proposal of signing a declaration upon it, was new to him* and unexpected, as it seems likewise to have been with the three bishops, to whom he shewed my Lord of Canterbury's letter. His minutes of his discourse with them upon it on Monday, April 28, is this.

"About six o'clock this evening, came in the Bishops of Chester, and of Exeter, and of St. David's, who staid here till nine o'clock. We had a great deal of talk about the Archbishop of Canterbury's proposal, in a letter he had wrote to me, that we should sign a declaration of our judgments, that all persons who were baptized with water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, their baptism ought not to be repeated by whomsoever they were baptized. They were all of opinion, and so was I, that it was not proper for us to make such a declaration under our hands, for that it would too much encourage the irregular baptisms of the dissenters. And accordingly, after they were gone, I wrote a letter to my Lord Archbishop to the same purpose; a copy of which letter I keep."

Such a declaration was nevertheless offered to the Convocation afterwards, but it was laid

aside in the Lower House. And my Lord Treasurer, on May the 9th, spoke to him *about the Queen's writing a letter, to stop the disturbances raised by lay baptism.* But he does not seem to have given any encouragement to that motion. He had, however, a great deal of talk with Mr. Lawrence upon that subject, when he came the day following, May 10, to present him with his answer to the Bishop of St. Asaph's treatise upon that argument.

With the same caution that he used in this case, he acted in another, which is not foreign to the present subject, especially as it was grounded upon some words that he spoke in the debates concerning occasional conformity. He had said, it seems, on that occasion, *that if he were abroad, he would willingly communicate with the Protestant Churches, where he should happen to be.* Monsieur de la Mothe, a French minister at London, who was collecting passages from the several sermons preached in London on the day when the *Orange brief* was read, with a design to print them, in order to shew what a fraternal tenderness was on that occasion expressed by the ministers of the Church of England towards those poor Protestant sufferers, and by that means to lessen the prejudice which foreign Churches may be under in relation to our opinion of them and concern for them;

thought it would be of moment to give an account of these words which the Archbishop had used in the House of Lords, as before recited. But because it was not so decent to do it without his permission, M. de la Mothe desired Dr. Atterbury to propose his design to him, and desire his pleasure therein. The doctor did so, giving the words as above cited, and the Archbishop answered him thus.

"*May* 31, 1704.

"Good Mr. Archdeacon,

"I had the favour of your's by the last post, and I thank you for it. I must own, that I did in the House of Lords, when the debate was about the bill of occasional conformity, express myself to the same purpose as you have set down in your letter. And truly, I spoke my hearty sense, and if what I said was published to all the world, I should not retract it. But if my consent be asked about the publishing of it, I must needs say (for reasons you very well know), that I cannot readily give it. And therefore I shall take it kindly of M. de la Mothe, if he mention not my name at all upon this occasion.

"I am, &c.

"Jo. Ebor."

No doubt can be made but his reason for this was the ill use that would have been made of such a concession by our dissenters at home; and perhaps by some others too, who, *not considering the difference there is between the case of the Protestant Churches abroad, and our dissenting congregations here in England,* might argue loosely from it, that he could, in point of conscience, were that only considered, *occasionally conform* to the Presbyterian way of worship in our meeting-houses; which, as it was far from his thoughts when he made the aforesaid declaration, he prudently endeavoured to keep it out of other people's thoughts too, by not consenting to the publication of those words, unless he had also added an explanation of them, with respect to our non-conformists at home.

What it was that he said in the House of Lords by way of comparison between the usage of Protestants abroad in Roman Catholic countries, and our treatment of the English Roman Catholics at home, which could occasion a scandalous passage in a French book printed at Brussels or Antwerp in 1703, and styled *Les Interests de l'Angleterre mal-entendus dans la Guerre presente;* or whether he spoke any thing at all that might be a foundation for the calumny, is quite uncertain. Only thus

much is plain, that that passage is either a mere fiction, or a gross misrepresentation. It stands in the 294th page of the Amsterdam edition, in these words:—"Avec quelle insolence les principaux d'entre eux ne parlerent ils pas contre My Lord Archvêque d'York, quand ce digne prelat en opinant dans la chambre haute sur la maniere dont nous en devions user avec nos Catholiques, eut representé vivement, que le government d'Angleterre étoit obligé à de plus grands egards envers leurs sujets Catholiques, que ceux qui doivent avoir les souveraigns Catholiques envers leurs sujets Protestants? Puisque nos Catholiques sont ceux de nos compatriotes qui n'ont point voulu quitter l'ancienne religion établire dans le Pays, au lieu que les Protestants des etats Catholiques y en ont introduit une nouvelle*.

To understand this passage, the reader should

* "With what insolence (says he) did the leading men among them exclaim against the Archbishop of York, when that worthy prelate, in giving his opinion in the House of Peers about the manner in which we ought to treat our Catholics, had clearly shewn, that the English government was under an obligation to pay more regard to its Catholic subjects, than Catholic kings abroad are to their Protestant subjects? Since our Catholics are such of our natives as would never renounce the *ancient* religion that was established in the country, whereas the Protestants in the Roman Catholic dominions have introduced a *new* religion there."

be acquainted, that the book out of which it is taken is pretended to be translated from an English manuscript, with this title*, *The Interests of England mistaken in the present War;* and therefore the author expresses himself as in the person, or under the character of an Englishman, though he manifestly appears to be a papist and a jacobite, but a man of shrewd sense and thorough insight into the affairs of these kingdoms. But it happened that he had little insight into the Archbishop's character or principles, for otherwise he never would have put such an assertion, *backed with such a piece of*

* The character of this book and its author is given by Monsieur Le Clerk, in a letter to the Archbishop from Amsterdam, April 29, 1704, in these words.

"Intelligo insilens tuis in manus tuas incidipe virulentam satyram, Gallice conscriptam, non in Anglicam tantum et Belgicam gentem sed et in te quoque privatim. Satyrici illius libelli, quoniam videris ubi editus sit, et a quo nescire, scito autorem esse pontificium, et nisi vehementer fallor, Anglum ex eis qui aut Duaci aut in Belgio Pontificio alibi degunt et in Gallia ab aliquot annis viscerent. Libellus vero editus est Antwerpiæ aut Bruscellis ut facile intelligunt characterum periti, utque ostendit summa quæ hic est raritas exemplarium cum in hisce provinciis nullo modo comporari possint. Quod in inscriptione dicitur esse editus a Georgio Galleto qui fuit ante hac prefectus typographiæ Huguetanorum, id planè falsum est; nec Galletus officinam ullam hic habet aut libros ullos vendit. Nomen ejus malique est adhibitum ut tegeretur locus ubi libellus est editus."

false reasoning, into his mouth; who thought quite the reverse of what this man would have him speak, as appears in all his writings in the Romish controversy, viz. *That the Roman religion, as it is now professed, was not the ancient religion of this country, nor the Protestant religion a new one, either here or in foreign kingdoms, but the old one, and the true one, such as it was before it was corrupted by the innovations and superstitions of Rome.* However, it helped to serve the writer's end, to charge this inconsistency upon him. And it is manifest, from another passage in the preface to the same book (which shall be considered in its proper place), that the author of it had a prejudice against him. The book was extremely scarce, and rarely any copies of it to be met with here. It was conveyed from Brussels, where it was printed, first into Holland; and there Dr. Cockburn, who gave him the first account of it, obtained the perusal of it with great difficulty. And afterwards a few of the impression were transmitted into England.

The author of Dr. Radcliffe's Life*, whoever he was, either knew as little of the Archbishop as the French writer, or was as much disposed to invent, when he fathered upon him *a Letter to*

* Published after the Archbishop's death, in 1716, and printed by Curll.

Dr. Radcliffe about Dr. Sacheverell, supposed to be wrote 1709-10, and while the trial was yet depending. For, besides that neither the sentiments nor diction in that letter resemble those of the Archbishop's, there are things spoken of him which prove the whole piece spurious, as "*his recovery just before by the doctor's skill,*" whereas he had been in good health all that winter; and "*his applauding Dr. Ratcliffe's care in making interest for Dr. Sacheverell, and preferring the divine's for his bail before the duke's.*" Whereas he would have so little concern in Dr. Sacheverell's affair before his trial, "*that he refused to peruse his answer to the articles of impeachment which the Doctor himself brought him, and would have shewed him. But he told him, that upon his trial he could do him no favour, but he would do him all right and justice that he could.*"

And then what follows in the aforesaid pretended letter of his, *fearing that they should not have power enough to give a parliamentary sanction to the doctrines, he* (Dr. Sacheverell) *had preached,* is something so unlikely to be credited, that it needs no refutation.

But to return from these digressions to the consideration of points more material. The next that offers itself is his *Patronage of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland.*

Anciently the Archbishops of York asserted

their *jurisdiction in that kingdom*, and did actually exercise it over some sees, particularly St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Candida, Casa*, and all on the south side of Edinburgh Frith, once the dominions of the kings of Northumberland. The whole plea, indeed, is now quite out of doors, as to any pretence of jurisdiction or primacy. But Archbishop Sharp may be said to have revived the old claim in one respect, that he professed to be the patron and friend of the episcopal clergy, and suffered himself to be their resort in their difficulties and distresses, as much as if they had yet been a part of his provincial charge. And they, on the other hand, did as readily and naturally apply themselves to him, as if he had been their primate. He was hardly settled in his province before he received a remonstrance from them of their declining state after the Revolution. In June, 1693, at their general convention at Edinburgh,

* See Polydore Virgil. lib. 13. Spelman's Councils, tom. ii. p. 5. Appendix to the Scotch History. Library by Nicholson. Liberty and Independency of the kingdom of Scotland asserted. Edinburgh, 1702. Drake's Antiquities of York, 538, 539.

Original charter of Thomas, the first Archbishop of York, preserved in the Archives of the Church of Durham. Whereby he assigns *Tevegetedale* to the Church of Durham, and sends his chrism to Glasgow, as an ordinary acknowledged act of jurisdiction.

they drew up a memorial or petition, which they sent him, setting forth *the abolition of episcopacy in the first session of King William's Parliament in Scotland, and the establishment of Presbyterian government in the second or next session, and the ejectments of several of the episcopal clergy in all parts of the kingdom consequent upon it, that is, by virtue of the powers granted to Presbyterian judicatories; and their own apprehensions of greater persecutions still, notwithstanding they had acknowledged their Majesties' government, professed their own fidelity, and implored their royal protection, and had likewise received repeated assurances of it from their Majesties.* And concluding with these words: —"Wherefore, in this time of our great distress, our only refuge next to the Divine Providence and their Majesties' innate goodness and justice, is to have recourse to your Grace and the reverend clergy of the Church of England, to which we are the rather encouraged, from the former experience we have of your religious and charitable concern for this afflicted and distressed Church. We have good ground to believe, that it is far from their Majesties' gracious inclinations to allow of any thing that may be grievous or straightening to their loyal subjects; and however our enemies may take occasion to asperse, and misrepresent us, yet we can assure your Grace we are still the same we have

hitherto professed ourselves to be, and are resolved, whatever measures we meet with, to persist in our loyalty and fidelity to their Majesties, and will be ready to give such further proofs thereof as are consequential to our former professions, and proper to persons of our character and circumstances. We do therefore humbly entreat that your Grace and the reverend clergy of the Church of England may be pleased seriously to consider our present case, and to represent the same to their Majesties; so as yet we may subsist under the favourable influences of their royal protection, and our feared ruin and desolation may be prevented.

"That God may long preserve your Grace, and the Church of England in that order, peace, and lustre wherewith he hath blessed you, is, and shall be, the earnest prayer of your's, &c.

"Signed in our name, and at the appointment of our meeting, by William Demune Præses—Park Cl."

The next winter, when he came to London, he applied himself to some of the chief of the Scotch nobility to use their endeavours for procuring some more favourable measures to be taken with the episcopal party. Duke Hamilton told him plainly, (12th February, 1693-4) "*that all that could be done for the Scotch clergy was to get the king to recommend it to the parliament of Scotland to give*

new and clear and express terms of coming in to the clergy, and that they might not be remitted to the general assembly. But to think of excusing them from the assurance was not a thing to be thought of, for that was what the parliament of Scotland would never consent to take off; though he owned the clergy of Scotland never used to be hampered with such oaths, nor had it been enjoined them till the last sessions of parliament, though it was put upon persons holding offices of trust *before that time.*"

When he found there was no room or likelihood of doing them better service than by procuring collections for their relief at present, he became their solicitor in this respect, and his kindness this way contributed very much to their support. Their poverty became so great, and their condition so low towards the latter end of King William's reign, that there was a scheme laid for a public collection of charity for them throughout England; but how that was defeated may be seen by a letter of Bishop Burnet to the Archbishop in the following words.

" May it please your Grace,

" Your Grace's tender and compassionate letter is as suitable to your own goodness as to the charity of the Earl of Thanet to have given the rise to it. I have transmitted it to my Lord of Canterbury with what I could suggest

on so sad a subject. My Lord, I know that the miseries are great even to the last extremities in Scotland. I spoke to the *ministers of state for that kingdom*, and pressed that an address might be made to the King for receiving the charities of well-minded people here, but, to my great amazement, I found they were cold to the motion; they lessened the thing, and what through *a senseless piece of national pride*; what because they fancied an ill use might be made of confessing they were in such extremities.—I found nothing could then be done by them, so I thought it became me to send my charity thither. I sent £200, the half of which I ordered to be distributed by Mr. Chateris among the episcopal clergy and their widows. I take my share in the sense your Grace has of this great calamity which lies on my country, as I pray God to make them sensible of their sins, by which they have drawn this on themselves, which will be followed by heavier ones, both on them and us if we do not repent. I am, with great duty and a profound respect, my Lord,

" Your Grace's most humble and
" most obedient servant,
G. SARUM."

" *Salisbury, 17th June*, 1699."

But in the beginning of the late queen's reign, when the design of uniting the two kingdoms

was first agitated, there seemed a fairer prospect of making some provision, or at least obtaining some security for the episcopal clergy. And accordingly they themselves were early in their address to the Queen *to desire her Majesty to take them into her royal protection, and to give liberty to such parishes where all or most of the heretors or inhabitants were of the episcopal communion, to call, place, and give benefices to ministers of their own principles; which the Presbyterians themselves would have no reason to complain of, for if the plurality they pretended to was true, by this act of grace, neither their churches nor their benefices were in hazard.* There seemed to be nothing unreasonable in this request, though it was more than they expected would be granted: however, if they could but obtain a toleration at present, as a term of the union of the two kingdoms, it would satisfy them very well, for they had hopes, as the Archbishop learnt from Drs. Scott and Skene, who were employed by them to present their address, *that if they had a toleration then it might not hereafter be difficult to obtain of the parliament of Great Britain to re-establish episcopacy.* Accordingly, he whose wishes might be as great as theirs, though his expectations less, took an opportunity, when the treaty of union was in some forwardness, to discourse with the

Queen about the episcopal clergy. *He told her he should willingly come into the union, for he had no objection against the articles that he had seen, provided there was no detriment to the Church or constitution thereby. But he was afraid of two things; first, that they would not grant a toleration for the episcopal communion in that kingdom, considering that we had allowed a toleration here to their Kirk. She said that she had given orders to her commissioners in Scotland to propose this, and to get it settled; but she forbad him to make mention of this. The second thing he objected against was—the fear he had they would impose such oaths on her Majesty and her successors, that they could not give consent to the alteration of Church government if ever the parliament of Great Britain should think it convenient. She said she knew not of any such oaths that would be put upon her: she further said that she meant to take care that as there was a new security to be given to the Kirk of Scotland, so she meant there should be an act for securing the Church of England.*

But when the bill for the further security of the Church of England upon the union with Scotland was brought into the House of Peers by the Archbishop of Canterbury, January the 31st. following, he made a strong objection to it upon account *of the test act not being continued as well as the act of uniformity,* and so he found did

some others of the Lords who seemed surprised at this concession. And the Queen having that night sent a page of the back stairs late to him to order him to attend her at Kensington the next morning, "*he perceived her business was to persuade him to vote for the bill that my Lord of Canterbury had brought in, which within two days was to be read a second time. I told her (says he) that I had seen the bill, and that some of the Lords made a wonder that the test act was not mentioned in that bill to be continued as well as the act of uniformity, and that I believed several of the Lords would insist upon it that it should be, and that I was of the same mind. I told her (upon occasion of her saying that she knew some Lords, viz. Lords Nottingham, Rochester, &c. who would take any occasion of opposing that bill because they were against the union, I say I told her) that it was a Whig lord that first made that objection to me. She asked me who it was. I stuck a little, but she solemnly promised me she would not discover it to any body; upon that I told her it was my Lord Scarborough, who, I assured her, was, at the first time the union was treated of, the most zealous man for it of any of the Lords.*" But, however, when this came to be debated, February 3rd, though *the point was insisted on that the test act should be particularly expressed in the bill, yet it was carried in the negative by a great majority. He spoke in this debate, and the next day*

entered his protestation *. *Five of the bishop's bench were with him, twelve against him.*

And when the Scotch act of pacification was to be committed, he again spoke, and opposed it, *though he had none of the bishops with him except London, Bath and Wells, and St. Asaph,* the last of which, namely Dr. Beveridge, had been consulting with him, *and desired him to consider of the point, whether the bishops of the Church of England could lawfully give their vote in parliament for the Scotch ratification,* viz. "an act of the Scotch parliament for securing the Protestant religion, and Presbyterian government, to be ratified and confirmed and approved by her Majesty with and by the authority of the parliament in England, as a term of the union; *when in this act it is declared that the Scotch religion is the true Protestant religion, and that the Presbyterian government is necessary.* So that although this be only a Scotch act, yet the question was, whether the ratifying it would not make it an English act." Some thought that by ratifying it could be meant no more, but that thereby the Queen and parliament of England should give the fullest assurance, that they would for ever after the union allow this Scotch act to have the force

* This protest may be seen in the History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, Vol. ii. p. 165.

of a law within the present bounds of Scotland, although the rest of Great Britain should be under another law as to the same matter; and not that it implied any declaration of their assent to or approbation of the Scotch discipline, or form of Church government. But however that was, such ratification *cut off all the hopes of the episcopal clergy*, who were to entertain no further thoughts of the restoration of their ancient government. His Grace had told the Queen "*he could not vote for this ratification, though he should not vote against any of the articles.*" And he was as good as his word, March 3rd, when this bill was committed.

From this time the usage of the episcopal clergy grew yearly more grievous to them; and consequently their complaints and remonstrances more frequent and lamentable. When he read to her Majesty the letters of the Bishops of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, she would at one time say, that "*she could not think things were so bad as they were represented;*" at another, "*that they must have patience, for all would do well in Scotland**." At last it came to a downright *persecution*, and when the account of it came to him then in Yorkshire, he enclosed it in a letter of

* "*That she would consider of that matter, and advise with her ministers.*" These were the answers she gave him.

his own, to her Majesty; which was a trouble he seldom gave her but when he judged the importance of the business required it.

" May it please your Majesty,

" I humbly beseech your Majesty of your abundant goodness, of which I have had a great deal of experience, to pardon the boldness I now take of sending you a transcript (for the original is not so legible) of a letter I received the last Saturday from the Bishop of Edinburgh. It is his earnest desire that I should communicate the contents of it to your Majesty; and I have no other means of doing that (now that your Majesty is at Windsor) than in the way that I now take. I have the more reason to hope your Majesty will pardon this confidence in me in regard you have been graciously pleased to grant me your permission to write to you when I have any matter of importance to lay before you, and indeed I take this to be such a matter; and I dare say your Majesty will think so if you will please to give yourself the trouble of perusing the Bishop's letter.

" As to what orders your Majesty will please to give with relation to this affair of the distressed clergy of Scotland, it is not for me to offer any thing; that must be left to your Majesty's own wisdom and goodness after you have considered

the case, and I dare say you will do that which, all things put together, you judge to be best and fittest. I am only concerned to pray most heartily to God *(and I assure your Majesty I daily do it)* that he would direct all your counsels, and prosper all your affairs both at home and abroad, and make your reign long and happy and glorious, and as much as is possible easy to yourself and all your subjects.

" I am, madam,

" With the greatest honour, esteem, and affection,

" Your Majesty's

" Most faithful and dutiful subject,

" Jo. Ebor."

" *August* 10, 1708."

And when he came to town the winter following "*he spoke earnestly to her Majesty about the episcopal clergy. He told her what my Lord —— had acquainted him with, concerning a conversation he had with Sir James S——t, who had declared to him that the measures were wrong, but he must obey them. The Queen answered, why did he then advise those measures?*"

He then undertook to concert matters with my Lord Marr, about getting the Queen's letter under the signet to Sir James S——t, to oblige him to suspend the prosecution of the late orders till further directions were given.

In February following "*he told her Majesty of the Judge Advocate's circular letter for shutting up all the episcopal meeting houses; in which letter he said he had orders from the Queen, under her hand and seal, to do this.* The Queen said it was not true. Hereupon he charged it again upon her conscience with some warmth, to take care to put a stop to these persecutions; and she answered she would take care of them as fast as she could."

He applied himself by letter to the Duke of Queensbury, May 1st, 1709, "praying him to use his best interest with the Queen for them, who (says he) I am sure is most ready to come into any methods that can be proposed for their ease and relief; and if they be not made more easy, I am sure the fault will not lie at her door."

Such repeated applications both to her Majesty and the nobility of Scotland had good effect this year, for there followed a cessation of those severities against the episcopal clergy with which they had been before treated. In testimony of which here follows a letter which he received in the latter end of the same year.

"May it please your Grace,

"This new trouble is occasioned by a letter I have from the clergy of the diocese

of Aberdeen, to let your Grace understand, that to their great joy and satisfaction, the names of such of them as were enrolled to be prosecuted before the Justiciary Court, were scored out, and none of them met with any trouble from the late circuit. The diverting of which danger, though by secret influence from court, being, as they firmly believe, and I think very justly, the *happy effect of your Grace's friendly endeavours*, they have desired me in their names to return to your Grace their humble and hearty thanks for your great favour and goodness in interposing so seasonably and successfully in their behalf, of which they are exceedingly sensible.

"They have also informed me, that the thoughts of addressing *for a toleration* are laid aside till we have peace abroad, and a new parliament at home. And that they are willing to rest satisfied with what they feel of her Majesty's gracious protection, renewed from time to time by secret influences, till a favourable opportunity offer for expecting a more public confirmation of it.

"They heartily wish and pray it may please God long to preserve your Grace in health and prosperity, for the continued comfort of your own clergy, and the charitable relief of those

who are in distress. And this in a more particular manner is the earnest petition of,

" My Lord,

" Your Grace's most humble and

" obedient son and servant,

" JA. GORDON."

" *Hawnby, Oct.* 25, 1709."

The deliverance of the episcopal clergy, mentioned in the former part of the letter, was certainly a great one, and very seasonable, if their apprehensions of the treatment that was designed them in the northern circuits were well grounded; for in the beginning of August the same summer the Bishop of Edinburgh in a letter to the Archbishop has these words:—

" I am certainly informed that our lords of the Justiciary have sent up to the court for instructions how to behave in the next circuits with respect to the episcopal clergy. If the return to this be unfavourable, and recommend not much moderation, we shall be entirely ruined, *for the judges who go to the northern circuits are such,* that unless some bonds be laid upon them we can expect no kind of quarter, and it is into their division that by far the greatest part of our clergy do fall. We still complain, and justly too, that we are sentenced and punished for what the law does not require;

and were it not very just to supersede any further proceeding against us until the sitting of the parliament, that they may take the case into their consideration, and *by a clear plain law let us know our obligations?*"

But in another respect he was more successful, viz. in procuring her Majesty's private bounty towards them, especially to this Bishop of Edinburgh and that of Aberdeen. There was but one surviving archbishop in Scotland, viz. Dr. John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, burthened with age and infirmities, eleven children, and great poverty. There was procured him a grant of £300 per annum out of the rents of his archbishopric during his life, and £200 per annum for fifteen years more, towards the support and maintenance of his children. Among the inferior clergy he procured for Dr. Scott, the episcopal clergy's agent at court, a pension of eighty guineas per annum: and did his best offices with her Majesty that what remained undisposed of, of the Bishop's rents should be distributed among them. In short, he shewed himself in all respects as tender of them as their own circumstances *and those of the times would permit.*

And here we may pass over to some other instances of his compassion and care of poor distressed Protestants, viz. those in foreign parts. When he was applied to in King Wil-

liam's reign, by the agents of the *Churches of the Palatinate*, and the state of those Churches was laid before him, he wrote to his Grace of Canterbury, to assure him, "*of his own readiness to do his part, for the giving a supply for those Churches, whenever the King or his Grace should direct the method.*" Having no answer to this, he wrote next to the Bishop of London, who "*he hoped would take the case into his consideration, and advise with my Lord of Canterbury, and petition the King for a brief or order for a private collection among the clergy. For his own part, he was heartily sorry for their condition, and would, with all his soul, give them all the assistance he could towards their relief.*" Which he did afterwards.

King William and Queen Mary had granted all their reign, or at least for many years of it, a pension of 425*l.* to the *Vaudois*, in Germany. But this pension having been struck off when he came to be made the Queen's almoner, he put into her Majesty's hands a memorial of the pensions that had been paid in the late reign, among which he set down this to the Vaudois; but this taking no effect, and the Vaudois ministers pressing for the pension and the arrears, he wrote to my Lord Treasurer as the properest person to be applied to.

"Give me leave (says he) to lay a matter before you, which I think I am bound to con-

cern myself in, and your Lordship also, who made me the Queen's almoner. I have received since I came to York two letters from *the Vaudois ministers* in German, wherein they set forth their great necessities, and earnestly petition for the continuance of that pension, which was settled upon them by King William and Queen Mary in 1689. The first of these I have sent up to Dr. Battle, the sub-almoner, and desired him to move the Queen on their behalf. The other I now make bold to send to your Lordship, together with a memorial of the state of these poor people, which I received this last week from Sir John Chardin. I find that those ministers and schoolmasters, who are upon the Dutch establishment receive their pensions duly and are well maintained. Sure, then, my Lord, those that the Crown of England promised to provide for, should not be quite abandoned," &c. He obtained at last a promise from her Majesty, that this matter should be taken care of.

But when the treaty of peace was on foot in the year 1709, then was the season for doing true service to the foreign Protestants; and he was not wanting to remind either her Majesty or her ministers of it. As, May 1, 1709: "*In the evening, at the Queen's appointment, I waited on her Majesty . . . . . I pressed heartily, that now, in*

the treaty of peace that is on foot, her Majesty would order her plenipotentiaries to concern themselves about the Protestant religion, both in France, the Palatinate, the Vaudois, Silesia, &c. that we might not be served as we were at the great treaty of Berwick. She saith, over and over again, that she will take care of that matter. I recommended to her, that she should send a minister on purpose, who would be content with a very small salary, and such a one as understood the state of the Protestants abroad. And that it should be his business to manage that affair. I prevailed with her, that she would receive a memorial about the state of religion in foreign parts, which Mr. Hales is preparing, and which the Bishop of Ely has promised to present; and to solicit the Queen and my Lord Treasurer about that affair."

To omit the kind assistance he gave to the distressed *Greek Churches* in Armenia and Egypt, in 1706, when the Armenian bishops came over to solicit a contribution in England, for printing bibles and some other books in the Armenian language and character, and were recommended by him to the Queen; and, in 1713, when Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebais, in Egypt, came over with Greek letters to the Queen, and to himself, which were afterwards translated and published by M. La Roche, in his Memoirs of Literature, as also to omit the share he had in procuring the settlement of an

English Church at Rotterdam; we shall proceed to give an account of a much nobler work he was engaged in with regard to the foreign Protestant Churches, and that was *the introduction of the Liturgy of the Church of England into the kingdom of Prussia*. An account whereof may be the more acceptable, because none of the steps taken therein have been as yet made public.

The Protestant subjects of the kingdom of Prussia consist partly of Lutherans, and partly of Calvinists; which latter call themselves *the Reformed;* the word Calvinist being disagreeable to them, and consequently used only by such as are not their friends.

Frederick King of Prussia had found it necessary, for the greater solemnity of his coronation, in 1700, to give the title of bishops to two of the chief of his clergy, the one a Lutheran, the other a reformed. The former died soon after; whereupon the other, viz. Dr. Ursinus, continued without a colleague, and with the title of bishop. Since that time the king, who was a lover of order and decency, conceived a design of *uniting the two different communions in his kingdom*, the Lutherans and the reformed, in one public form of worship. And as he had a great respect for the English nation and Church, and held a good opinion of the Liturgy of the

Church of England, he thought *that* might be the most proper medium wherein both parties might meet*. The person who, above all others, was instrumental in creating in the king a favourable opinion of the discipline and Liturgy of the English Church, and in improving his good dispositions to establish them in his own realm, was Dr. Daniel Ernestus Jablouski, a man of great credit and worth, *first chaplain* to the King of Prussia, and *superintendant or senior* †

* Neque vel Lutherani nostros vel nostratis homines Lutheranorum ritus admissuri sunt: sed utrique in Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Liturgiâ commodissime convenire atque uniri possent.—Epist. Jablouski.

† Under the title of *seniors*, that Church has kept up a character very much resembling that of our bishops. Since the *seniors* received a *second ordination*, or consecration to their office, and none can be received into the ministry but by *imposition of their hands*, which character and power they are said to have derived from a certain bishop, who turned Protestant about or soon after the time of J. Huss. And they themselves are supposed to be the remains of the Hussites, driven out of Bohemia by the Emperors, and refuged chiefly in the proper estate of King Stanislaus. There were usually three or four of this order in Poland. But at this time Dr. Jablouski had no colleague; at least he was the only *senior* remaining in Upper Poland. Extract of his letter to Mr. Ayerst, 18th June, 1712, N.S. "Prodie Julii et sequentibus, B. C. D. Synodum celebrabimus de stabiliendâ religionis evangelicæ in Poloniâ securitate deliberatori. Quo tempore simul *duo seniores* sive *episcopi pro successione conservandâ ordinabuntur*. Etenim a pluribus annis nullus in Poloniâ majore minister ob senioris

of the Protestant Church in Poland. This gentleman had received very great prejudices in his youth against the Church of England, from those among whom he was educated. But after he had been twice in England, and had spent some time in Oxford, and in the conversation of our English divines, and in the study of our Liturgy and Church discipline, he became not only reconciled to them, but an admirer of our ecclesiastical constitution; and took all opportunities ever after, of expressing his friendship and zeal for the English Liturgy and ceremonies*.

Dr. Ursinus was likewise very well inclined to a conformity in worship and discipline to that of the Church of England; but if he did not prosecute the design with a warmth and zeal equal to Jablouski's, it may be imputed to his never having seen the Church of England in her own beauties and proper dress as the other had.

absentiam ordinatus fuit. Sed duos ego hîc Berolini ordinatos in Poloniam misi." See more in Dr. Jablouski's Reflections on Monsieur Bonet's letter, Appendix II. No XII.

* His own account of his sentiments of the Church of England, and how he came by them is worth the reader's perusal. It was wrote in a letter to Dr. Nicholls, in 1708 (which will be found in the Appendix).

By the advice principally of these two, the King ordered the English Liturgy to be translated into high Dutch, which was done at his University of Frankfort upon the Oder, where the professors in general were friends to the Church of England. This done, he ordered his bishop, Dr. Ursinus, to write a letter in his name to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to acquaint him with what had been, and what was intended to be done; and to ask his Grace's advice about it. The scheme was, if the King's intentions met with due reception and *encouragement from England*, which it was presumed could not fail, to have introduced the Liturgy first into the King's own chapel, and the cathedral church; and to leave it free for the other Churches to follow the example; and the time prefixed for this introduction was the first Sunday in Advent, 1706. It was indeed debated in the *King's Consistory* (called so because a privy counsellor always *sits with*, yet presides over the Divines), whether the English Liturgy should be used, or a new one composed in imitation of it, several objecting, that they should seem to acknowledge a dependance on the Church of England, by wholly using her service; upon which some divines, who were not willing the design should miscarry, drew up a formulary,

which was put in manuscript into the hands of the King's bishop.

A letter was wrote by Dr. Ursinus to his Grace of Canterbury, pursuant to the King's directions. And two copies of the high Dutch version of the English Liturgy were sent along with it; one for her Majesty the Queen, the other for his Grace. And orders were given to form a correspondence between the principal of the clergy of both courts, about the means of promoting the design. The letter and the copies were put into the hands either of *Baron Spanheim, or M. Bonet,* the King's ministers. Her Majesty, upon the receipt of her copy, ordered my *Lord Raby,* her minister at the Court of Prussia, to return her thanks to the King and to the bishop, which was done. But it unfortunately happened, that the other copy, and the letter, which were designed for the Archbishop of Canterbury, by some neglect or mistake, were not delivered to him; and the more unfortunately, because they were assured at Berlin, that they had been delivered to him by Mr. Knyster, a subject of the King of Prussia, then in England. This occasioned some disgust; and the king having often asked Dr. Ursinus, *what answer the Archbishop had given to his letter,* greatly wondered, when the bishop,

after some time, continued to reply, that as yet none had been sent*. And it was thought,

* "Restabat tamen ecclesiæ reformatæ una triumphi materies quum temporum opportunitas obtulit quam tamen Archiepiscopus noster prænimia cunctatione, timiditate vel abundante et intempestivâ cautelâ neglexit. Intelligo episcoporum in Borussia ordinationem juxta ecclesiæ Anglicanæ exemplar quam Rex Borus religionis reformatæ juxta ac literatorum Fautor per regna suâ celebrari voluit, et eâ de causâ virum tum eruditione tum pietate eximium *D. Enestum Grabe* in Angliam transmisit in episcopum juxta ritus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ordinandum. Verum Archiepiscopus adeo non avide occasionem oblatam arripuit, ut frigide et oscilanter rem momenti gravissimi curaret, et difficultatibus et causationibus interjectis ita in longum petrascit et aliquando tandem irrita prorsus interciderit. *Godw. de Præsul. cont. per. D. Richardson*, p. 167." It appears, from this passage, that the learned writer of it had not a full and complete information of the affair upon which this remark concerning the Archbishop's conduct is formed. If Dr. Grabe had been sent over in order to obtain a consecration here, it is strange no mention should be made of it in any of the letters and papers which came afterwards into the hands of Archbishop Sharp, relating to this overture of his Prussian Majesty. Besides, the first application that was made to his Grace of Canterbury by Dr. Ursinus, was not till the year 1705; whereas Dr. Grabe *was settled at Oxford in* 1697, as appears by his dedicatory epistle in the first volume of his *Spicelegium Patrum*, printed there 1698. And this was before his Prussian Majesty was crowned, or took the title of King upon him, which was not till 1700. And it was after that time this his Majesty entertained the thought of introducing the Liturgy of the Church of England in his kingdom. And in Dr. Grabe's

that this misfortune (but looked upon in Prussia rather as a neglect in the Archbishop of Can-

dedication of St. Irenæus to the King of Prussia, in 1702, he says nothing of his being sent over by him, but rather intimates the contrary, ascribing the leaving of his country to the providence of God in general, and not to any particular order of his prince. And lastly, in Mr. Collier's account of Dr. Grabe, in his Dictionary, who was instructed by Dr. Hickes in many particulars concerning him, there is no mention made of his being first sent into England, on account of consecration; which could hardly have been omitted had there been any authority for it; the information, therefore, given to the learned editor of Godwin, was undoubtedly grounded upon some imperfect account of my Lord of Canterbury's refusal to answer Dr. Ursinus's letter, wrote to his Grace by his Prussian Majesty's order; *and which was supposed to be delivered, and yet was not.* The person who only could give the true account of this matter was the same that was employed by Dr. Ursinus to ask his Grace whether he received the letter sent him, and to desire him to write something which might be shewed the King, to satisfy him whether it was received or no, which person (a man of strict veracity and honour, but desirous that his name might not be used on this occasion), reported from *his Grace, that the said letter never came to his hands,* but withal, that his Grace was unwilling to write any thing to Dr. Ursinus (that being proposed to him), alleging *the scandalous report that was at that time spread of the university of Helmstadt having declared, in the case of the marriage of the Queen of Spain, that it was lawful for a Protestant to change communion, which he said was such a reflection on all the Protestant Churches of Germany, that it was sufficient at that time to hinder his commencing a correspondence with any of them.* This was the whole of the matter, as appears from a paper sent the Archbishop of York by Dr. Hobart, and the

terbury), was one of the chief occasions which made the King grow cool in the design.

But though the King seemed to have laid aside his former intention, on account of the above-mentioned discouragement, yet herein he still shewed his good dispositions and inclinations towards it, that from that time forward, he did *not suffer any extempore effusions of prayer in the chapel royal*, but obliged his chaplains to use a set form, though it were a short one. And though the bishop and Dr. Jablouski had no further prospect of setting the affair on foot again with the Archbishop of Canterbury, yet they continued to cultivate a good correspondence with the English divines (hoping some favourable opportunity of moving it might offer itself), and particularly with Mr. Ayerst, at that time chaplain to my Lord Raby, then Ambassador at Berlin; whom they called into a participation of their councils, and who proved of singular use to them in the promoting the great design they had in view. It was through this gentleman's hands, (even after he

reason by which his Grace of Canterbury excused himself from writing to Dr. Ursinus, seemed too trifling to have been alleged on that occasion, yet, being the true reason, it is more for his honour that it should be produced, than that the world should be left at liberty to conjecture at large, and assign reasons for him.

removed from Berlin into Holland), that the correspondence was afterwards carried on between Dr. Jablouski and the Archbishop of York; which correspondence took its rise from the following occasion. The King, in 1710, thought proper, by way of experiment, to give orders to his divines to draw up their thoughts separately, upon a model of a worship and discipline to be established. Among the rest, Dr. Jablouski drew up his, with a great deal of prudence, modesty, and candour. He avoided in it the recommendation of the Church of England in particular, as judging that not so seasonable at that juncture, especially as he lay under the imputation of being too much a friend to it. Nor did he as yet treat of Church government, because he thought it *was yet too hard a saying for them*, and besides, he conceived that the Liturgy, once established, would of course bring on the discipline. This judgment of his he delivered to Baron Printz, President of the Council of Ecclesiastical Affairs at Berlin, on June 25, 1710. It was rendered from high Dutch into English, and by way of preface to Mr. Chamberlain's translation of the Neufchatel Liturgy, printed at London, 1712*. In settling

* This little tract, although it has been in print some years, is nevertheless put in the Appendix, not only on account of its relation to other papers therein collected, and the light it throws

which Liturgy, in conjunction with Mr. Osterwald, Dr. Jablouski had been very instrumental. In the meantime this order from his Prussian Majesty, and the judgments of his divines upon it seemed to make it a very proper season once more to move the affair of introducing the English Liturgy. And the rather, because my Lord Raby having obtained a particular interest in the King and his ministers, it was thought, that if he was commanded to recommend this

upon the present subject, but also on account of the scarcity of the impressions of the Neufchatel Liturgy, to which it is prefixed in the English edition. Justice is likewise done hereby to the worthy author, in the correction of a mistake in the translation, whereby the sentiments of the learned doctor concerning the Church of England are very much misrepresented. For whereas the doctor set out with an observation, *dass manche evangelische gemeinem*, i. e. *that several evangelical congregations* (meaning thereby the Lutherans and Calvinists in Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, &c.), have fallen from one extreme, that of the Romish idolatrous worship, to that other of a frigid, superficial, and not enough respectful way of worship: *his translator* not being apprised that *Evglische* was an abbreviation of *Evangelische*, read it with a small difference, *Englische* gemeinem; which he rendered *English congregations*. Those, it seems, were not in the doctor's thoughts when he made this reflection, as appears by his own words, wrote shortly after to the translator, wherein he gives this very account of the mistake, and adds, "Quod si tu ipse mihi non vertisti vitio quod mare transvolans Anglos ad me nihil hic pertinentes lacessiverim, saltem si ab aliis id fieri audiveris, me quæso excusa." 17th Dec. N. S. 1712.

affair to the King, from her Majesty in England; the success of the motion might in all probability prove good. Hereupon, Dr. Jablouski resolved to attempt it by an application to the *Archbishop of York* (moved thereto chiefly by the Rev. Mr. Ayerst); and made use of Dr. Hobart, then in Berlin, and personally known to the Archbishop, to transmit the letter*, wherein he begs his Grace's correspondence and assistance. Dr. Hobart took this opportunity of mentioning the several steps which had been made before in this business (out of whose accounts that which is above related is for the most part an extract), and inclosed Dr. Jablouski's plan of a public form of worship; and added, *that the doctor would be most punctual on his side, to give information of all that should be requisite for the furtherance of the design; that he*

* This letter itself is not to be found; but that it was wrote at the instance of Mr. Ayerst, and submitted to his judgment and correction, appears from these words in the doctor's letter to him, 17th Sept. 1710. N. S. "Cum hesternum tempus pomeridianum universum extra ædes meas et partim extra urbem transigere coactus fuerum, literas promissas ad bonum Archiepiscopum Ebor, parare haud potui. Eas nunc rudi Minervâ conceptas tuæ censuræ subjicio, ut siquid adjiciendum omittendum, mutandum existimes, fraterne me moncas. Mitto etiam exemplar *Cogitationum mearum ad Exc. Printzium.* In cujus versione præter primum exordium (quod nullius vobis esse potest utilitatis) alia quæ forte videbuntur libere omittes."

would be the most proper person to carry it on, and to suggest to the ambassador, with whom he already had some acquaintance, all the best methods. That Dr. Ursinus was old, and might be more afraid of beginning again without the King's knowledge; but that, if the design were espoused in England, Dr. Jablouski would communicate to the other what passed, and carry it on in concert with him. That which made the doctor the most proper man that could be for the promoting such an affair was, that though he admired and loved the Church of England as much as any man, and would venture as much for the introducing it in Prussia in its full perfection, yet his temper and discretion was such, that he was the most proper judge what the time and place would bear; and if he should find that he could not entirely at first do all that he would, yet he would have patience to do it gradually.

And indeed it appears pretty clearly that all the steps that were taken in this matter were owing more to Dr. Jablouski's labours and influence than to any thing else whatsoever.

The packet from Germany came enclosed to Dr. Smaldridge in London * to whom the con-

* Dr. Hobart, who dispatched this packet September 22nd, 1710, the day before he left Berlin, was at a loss where to direct it with most safety and dispatch. He first sent it to Dr. Kenyon, desiring him to deliver it either to Dr. Smaldridge or Dr. Jenkyn whichsoever of them should be in town, writing

tents were communicated, and it was transmitted by him to the Archbishop, then in Yorkshire, October 10, 1710, to which he immediately replied by writing to all the parties who had concerned themselves in the communication of that affair. His letter to Dr. Jablouski, which is the most material, is as follows:

"*York, Oct.* 14, 1710.

"Rev. Sir,

"I received the other day the favour of a letter from you enclosed in one from Dr. Hobart, for which I return you my humble thanks. I shall esteem it a great honour to have a correspondence with you by letters; for though I am a stranger to your person, I am not so to your character: having had such an account from my friends in London of your great learning and prudence and piety, that I must be a very ill man myself if I had not a great esteem for you. You may therefore, whenever you please, freely communicate your mind to me, as I shall make no scruple of doing the like to you. And you may likewise assure yourself of all the assistance that I can give you towards the fur-

a letter at the same time which might be delivered in his name to either of them. Dr. Smaldridge proved the man. See Dr. Hobart's said letter, and another of Dr. Smaldridge's to the Archbishop of York in the Appendix.

thering that *noble pious work*, which I understand you are now pursuing. I thank you heartily for the papers you sent me containing your thoughts concerning the public worship of God, directed to Baron Printz. I agree with you in every particular, and I hope his Prussian Majesty will be so affected with it as to establish things according to your plan. And I know no public worship in Christendom that comes up so well to your measures as that used among us in the Church of England. I heartily bless God for raising up a prince among you who has so great a concern for religion and the honour of God. And I do as heartily pray that God would crown his endeavours with success, and that he may live to see the good effect of his glorious designs in the *happy union of the divided Protestants among you;* and in the establishment of such a public worship of God as is most primitive, most pure, most decent, and most conducive to the advancement of God's glory and the edification of every soul that joins in it.

"I ought humbly to beg your pardon for not answering your letter in the same language it was writ in, but I was encouraged to this rudeness by Dr. Hobart, who tells me that you understand English very well though it is difficult for you to write it. For my own part, though I can read Latin as well as ever I could, yet for

many years I have had so little occasion to write it that it is now very troublesome to me to attempt it.

"That God Almighty would grant you health and long life, and bless all your endeavours for the public good, is the hearty prayer of, Sir,

"Your most affectionate friend,

"and humble servant,

"Jo. Ebor *."

About the middle of the next month, viz. November 18th, he came to town, where he had an opportunity of entering into measures to facilitate Dr. Jablouski's project.

There were two persons then in London who were capable of being eminently serviceable to him in the furtherance of it, namely, Dr. Grabe, who was perfectly well acquainted with the state of the matter, with Jablouski's character, and

* This letter was very acceptable to the Doctor, and gave him great encouragement to proceed in his designs. See his answer 7th February, 1711, N.S. Appendix.

Extract of his letter to Mr. Ayerst, 22nd November, 1710. "Proposueram heri te convenire Epistolamque *Grabianam* quam mecum communicaveras reddere, simul vero *Eboracensem*, interea ad me delatam αντιδωρον vice tecum communicare. Quod vero ob intervenientia impedimenta destinata exequi haud potui, utramque in præsens tibi mitto, ut, si ita placuerit, et Deus vitam concesserit, die crastino, loco et tempore quo jusseris his de rebus conferre valeamus."

with the disposition of the King of Prussia and his courtiers and his divines; and *Mr. Hales*, a gentleman well known by the Protestants abroad, and who was thought to understand the general state of their affairs in all the kingdoms of Europe. This gentleman had been before pitched upon, and recommended to her Majesty as a person proper to be employed in her name abroad for the good of Protestantism, and to solicit for the relief of the distressed churches in France and the Palatinate, and in Silesia, &c. And he had drawn up a memorial or scheme of the services that might be done to the Protestants abroad. *With this Mr. Hales he consulted November* 28, *and promised him to lay his memorial and the Queen of Poland her letter to him before Mr. Harley*, then at the head of the court interest, *which he afterwards did*, and said to Mr. Harley what he thought proper to engage him in the service of these excellent designs; for without his concurrence it would have seemed a vain attempt, at that time of day, to meddle with foreign affairs.

On November 30th *he spoke himself to the Queen about the Prussian affair; and at the same time desired that the Convocation might sit to do business, this being, as he thought, a matter upon which they might be very usefully employed.* And this brought on those meetings at the Bishop of Rochester's,

where Mr. Harley was present about the Convocation's sitting, an account whereof hath been given above; where the Prussian was proposed by him as one of the *heads* they were to take into consideration.

By these applications and the concurrent assistance that was given him by others of our English divines, the design was again set on foot and put into motion (as it seemed most agreeable it should) *on the part of England. Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, wrote to his Excellency the Lord Raby to sound the inclination of the court of Prussia, and inquire into the state of their ecclesiastical affairs; upon which his lordship conferred with Dr. Jablouski, and with Baron Printz, the director of ecclesiastical affairs, February 7, N.S.* 1710-11: *and the Baron, after consultation with the King's bishop, laid the affair before his Majesty, who seemed to receive the motion with a pleasure, and declared both to the baron and to the bishop that he was yet of the same mind he had formerly been, and recommended the scheme to be adjusted by them and Dr. Jablouski, but in a secret way, that a good and solid foundation might be laid for it before it was made public, by which means it would afterwards appear with greater advantage.*

When Baron Printz acquainted my Lord Ambassador with the King's dispositions, my Lord desired him to signify as much to him in writing, which oc-

casioned the following letter from the baron to his lordship as it is rendered into English.

"*February* 12*th*, 1711. *N. S.*

"My Lord,

"Your excellency having done me the honour some time since to communicate the overtures that had been made by our bishop here, Mons. de Bar (Ursinus) to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, *in order to establish a nearer union* and correspondence *between the reformed churches* on this side the sea, (and particularly in the dominions of the King my master) *and the Church of England.* In compliance therewith, I have not failed to confer with Monsieur de Bar, our bishop, upon that subject; and we have most humbly laid some overtures before his Majesty, our august King. We continue, on our parts, in the same favourable dispositions, and are ready to enter into whatever measures may contribute to the good success of this affair. But as hitherto *it has been treated in England with so great an indifference,* that they have not vouchsafed to give any answer to the overtures that have been made by us, nor to the version of the English Liturgy, translated into our German language, so we would not expose ourselves to the like hazard, by making any further advances, without being assured of an answer from the part of England.

"And, as far as I could judge by your Excellency's discourses, her Majesty of Great Britain cannot want the means to advance this important affair by her consummate prudence, by her great credit in England, *and the laudable zeal she has already shewn for enlarging and establishing the Protestant Church.* And I believe (if I may be allowed to give my opinion), that the most certain and efficacious manner of facilitating this affair here, and also establishing a profound esteem in all the reformed Churches, for the Church of Great Britain, would be for her Britannic Majesty to give that shining proof of her royal bounty and gracious zeal, as to procure, by her powerful solicitations, that liberty of conscience and *free exercise of religion* to the poor *reformed* in Silesia, as the Imperial Court has granted to the other *Lutheran Protestants* by the mediation of the King of Sweden. And so many are the obligations of the House of Austria to her Majesty of Great Britain, that there is no doubt the Emperor will pay the same respect to the gracious intercessions of the Queen in favour of the reformed, as he has done to the pressing instances of the King of Sweden, in behalf of the Lutherans. *Dr. Robinson,* the new Bishop of Bristol, who was her Majesty's minister when that affair was transacted between his Imperial Majesty

and the King of Sweden, is fully informed of all the circumstances, and the miserable condition, as well as the evident right of the poor reformed Church in Silesia. And I doubt not but his justice, and the exemplary zeal he hath ever shewed for the propagation of the Protestant faith, will oblige him to use his utmost endeavours, both by his solid remonstrances, and by the authority his great merit has so justly gained him, to relieve this afflicted people, and in general to contribute to the mutual correspondence and good agreement between the Church of England, and all the reformed Churches abroad.

"But I submit ~~every thing to~~ your Excellency's great wisdom, and that admirable dexterity wherewith you dispatch whatever you undertake. And I expect your last orders upon this affair, being, with the utmost respect and devotion," &c.

Two days after, my Lord Raby dispatched this letter of Baron Printz's to the Lord Bishop of Bristol, &c. as Dr. Jablouski did an account of it to the Archbishop of York; and added, *that if there was any thing in that letter which one could have wished had been otherwise expressed, he hoped his Grace would be pleased to consider, that the baron, though a very prudent, sagacious, and*

worthy gentleman, was not yet fully apprized of, and instructed in the nature of this business, having been promoted to that post since the time that this affair was before in agitation. But that, notwithstanding, he might be relied upon as one who would do the Church signal service. The doctor expressed in this letter an exceeding pleasure in the fair prospect he now had of bringing the long hoped for design to bear; and concluded, that there were two things highly requisite for the effectual promotion of it, viz. directions from her Majesty to the Lord Ambassador, to treat expressly upon that subject, and the dispatching Mr. Hales over to Berlin.

The Archbishop found the first of these much easier to be obtained than the other. For though no answer could be got for some time with respect to Mr. Hales, yet the following letter was sent in the same month to my Lord Raby, by Mr. Secretary St. John's, a copy of which is here inserted.

"*Whitehall, Feb. 28,* 1710.

"My Lord,

"If this letter finds your Excellency still at Berlin, her Majesty desires that you would take some proper opportunity of speaking to Monsieur Printz, to the bishops, and to any others who may concern themselves in so lauda-

ble a design as that mentioned in your Excellency's of the 14th instant, N. S.

"You will please, my Lord, to assure them, that her Majesty is ready to give all possible encouragement to that excellent work, and that those who have the honour to serve her are heartily disposed to contribute all that is in their power to the same end. Your Excellency may venture to assure them further, that the Clergy is zealous in this cause; *and if former overtures have met with a cold reception from any of that body*, such behaviour was directly contrary to their general inclination and to their avowed sense, as appeared evidently from the attempt which the lower House of Convocation made some years ago, to join with the bishops in promoting a closer correspondence between the two Churches.

"Your Excellency will please to give, both here and at the Hague, as early notice as you conveniently can of your removal. I am,

"My Lord, your Excellency's

"Most obedient humble servant,

"H. St. John."

That the dispatch of Mr. Hales was likewise attempted, will appear from the following memorandums in the Archbishop's diary.

Thursday, March 1, 1710-11. "*At eleven o'clock*

I went to the Queen . . . . . I would have read Dr. Jablouski's two letters to her; but she was in haste. I left them with her, which she promises to shew to Mr. Secretary St. John's, which I pressed her to do; in order that he might give dispatch to a commission for Mr. Hales, who I told her was in both these letters earnestly recommended to that employment by Dr. Jablouski, as being well known and much esteemed, both by Ursinus and Baron Printz, and also the King of Prussia himself. Tuesday, April 3d. *Before twelve o'clock I went to the Queen; but she was so busy, I did no business with her, but only put her in mind of Dr. Jablouski's letters, to be put into the hands of Secretary St. John's; and to speak to him upon Mr. Hales' affair. As I came out, I spoke likewise to Secretary St. John's, who was there, and told him what I had said to the Queen, and desired him to speak to her about these matters, which he said he would.*"

There was another thing about this time well concerted for the furtherance of the main design, viz. that her Majesty should grant a sum of money to the Prussians, to buy ground for the erecting a church here in London for a Prussian congregation. *She promised a thousand pounds, and he having prepared her for the admitting their petition, waited upon her with it on Tuesday, April* 17, *she said she would speak with Mr. Harley, and so we left it with her.*

In the meantime *Mr. Bonet*, the King of Prussia's minister at London, had, on March 16th, a conference with Secretary St. John's, about the introduction of the English Liturgy and discipline into Prussia, which occasioned Monsieur Bonet to write his thoughts to his master upon that conference the next day, in the following manner, in a postscript to a letter upon other affairs.

P. S. "Sir,—In the same conversation that I had yesterday with the aforesaid Secretary of State, Mr. St. John's, he discoursed upon the ecclesiastical affairs relating to your Majesty's kingdoms, which have been the subject of the letters and transactions between the Archbishop and Dr. Jablouski; and between the Bishop of Bristol and my Lord Raby, and your Majesty's minister, Baron Printzen. I had already some intimation of this affair from the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Bristol, who are both of them in great esteem with the Queen and present ministry; and who have shewed me some letters upon this subject, and assured me of her Majesty's good inclinations; but the discourse of the Secretary of State was more particular, in that he gave me to understand he should be glad I would write to your Majesty about it.

"He began his discourse by telling me how

much the Queen and clergy were displeased with the cold reception the German translation of the English Liturgy met with by the answer that was given concerning it; that *we ought to impute it to the character of the present Archbishop of Canterbury.* He added, that her Majesty and the clergy were well disposed to entertain a correspondence with the clergy of Prussia, and to enter into any negociation, and make all reasonable advances upon this subject, as he himself had mentioned to the above-named ambassador. And moreover, he often mentioned a well writ letter of Baron Printzen's to my Lord Raby, and that the Queen approved of it. I told him I was not yet honoured with your Majesty's commands upon this affair, nor was I yet instructed in the scheme to be proposed, no more than I was acquainted with the disposition of the people, who are often jealous and prepossessed against novelties, and that their inclinations ought to be consulted before we made any step of this nature, who must be instructed and prepared by degrees, before they will enter into any new measures, be they ever so good. But I added, that I would not fail to lay the Queen's inclinations in this affair before your Majesty.

"Before we parted, he again repeated the design the Court and clergy had of entering

into a negociation to create *an union between the Protestant Churches here and beyond sea,* but without entering into any particulars.

" Sir, I will not here enter into the consideration of the nature of the Service of the Church of England, the most perfect, perhaps, that is among Protestants, though the many years that I have frequented no other have given me time to reflect upon the ritual and practice of that Church, as well as upon some abuses there are in her clergy and *Discipline,* I will apply myself to other considerations. *The first* is, that a conformity between the Prussian Churches and the Church of England would be received with great joy here. *The second* is, that the conformity to be wished for beyond the sea relates *more to Church government* than to any change in the Ritual or Liturgy. The clergy here are for episcopacy, and look upon it, *at least,* as of apostolical institution, and are possessed with the opinion, that it has continued in an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles to this present time; and upon this supposition, they alledge there can be no true ecclesiastical *government* but under bishops of this Order; nor true *ministers* of the Gospel, but such as have been ordained by bishops; and if there be others that do not go so far, yet they all make a great difference between the ministers that

have received imposition of hands by bishops, and those that have been ordained by a synod of Presbyters. A *third consideration is*, that the Church of England would look upon a conformity of this nature as a great advantage to herself, and that the clergy, united to the Court and the Tories, are a very considerable and powerful body. On the other side, the Whigs, the Presbyterians, the Independants, and all the other non-conformists would look upon this conformity with great concern as weakening and disarming their party. And the Electoral House of Brunswick, which depends more upon the latter than the former, may fear least this conformity should have other consequences. But though the Whigs have more money, because they are more concerned in trade, and though their chiefs may have the reputation at present of a superior genius, yet the others have more zeal and constant superiority and interest.

"Ut in ratione humillima, &c."

"*Tuesday, March* 17."

What reception and effect Mr. Secretary St. John's letter, and this of Mr. Bonet's, had at Berlin, will appear from the account of them given to the Archbishop by Dr. Jablouski, in his letter of April 28, 1711; the translation of

which shall be given entire, because it is a narrative of what was done at Berlin on this occasion.

" My very good Lord,

" The day that his Excellency my Lord Raby, the British ambassador, took his leave of this place (which was on the 24th of March, N. S.), he was pleased to acquaint me, that he had received the Queen's commands by the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary St. John's, that he should confer with Baron Printz and our bishops, and others, about our ecclesiastical affairs, and assure them of the ready assistance both of her Majesty and of the clergy of England to promote so good a design. He also told me, that in pursuance of her Majesty's directions he had been the day before at Baron Printz's, with a design to wait upon him. But not finding him at home, he intrusted me to deliver a copy of the above-mentioned letter to Baron Printz and the bishop in his name, which I did the day following*.

" Mr. St. John's letter, for the compass of it,

* Extract of Jablouski's letter to Mr. Ayerst, of May 5, 1711. " Grande illud negotium nostrum satis feliciter procedit postquam illustris vester St. Johnius residenti Prussico Bonneto Reginæ vestræ ministorum status atque cleri eâ de re mentem exposuit, ipsum que de eadem ad Regem referre jussit."

breathes such a spirit of British piety and generosity, that it mightily affected and pleased me, and hath given a new life to our hopes.

"A few days after came a letter from Mr. Bonet, the Prussian resident in Great Britain, dated at London, March 17; in which he informs his Majesty, that he had had a long conference about our affairs with the Right Honourable Mr. St. John's, who expressed himself very desirous that we should proceed in this business, and generally offered the concurrent assistances of her Majesty and the English clergy. This letter is the more remarkable, in that it gives us to understand, that Mr. St. John's does not content himself with repeated declarations that he would have the Church of England keep up a brotherly correspondence with the Church of Prussia, and be more closely united to it, and such like general intimations of a good disposition; but expressly affirms, that *he is desirous this matter should be laid before the King*. And Mr. Bonet adds, that the English do not aim so much at a conformity in the Liturgy, as in the Church government. By which words the prudent minister, in short, touches upon the very substance of the whole affair.

"Baron Printz communicated Mr. Bonet's letter to the bishop and myself; but to each a

part. And he desired each of us to give him in writing our own sentiments upon this subject. I did so yesterday; and with that freedom of speech that becomes a servant of Christ, have delivered my opinion for a form of prayer like to the English Liturgy, and for the government of the Church by bishops; and have supported my opinion, as I think, with weighty arguments. I cannot yet tell whether Baron Printz is pleased to approve of my thoughts, because he is out of town. He has promised, indeed, that he would duly and thoroughly consider what each of us should offer, and whatever he judged in his conscience to be most proper and advisable, he would lay it before the King in council. The undissembled and unshaken piety of this gentleman makes me hope that he will espouse our cause. He gave me liberty to speak my mind freely, and told me that he would take upon himself the *envy and odium of the whole affair*. Mr. Bonet had very seasonably let us know, that the Right Honourable Mr. St. John's often called Baron Printz's letter to my Lord Raby, *une lettre tres-sensee et tres bien ecrite;* and that her Majesty the Queen was mightily pleased with it..... '*Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.*' I may add, that to do so is not only an honour, but a great pleasure to a noble and generous mind.

"Thus far, my Lord, I have given your Grace an account of this business. I have indeed more particulars to acquaint your Grace with, but such as cannot be conveniently inserted in a letter. And therefore I have desired his Excellency the Lord Raby's chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Ayerst (a man of judgment much above his years, and who, to the veneration he has for the Church of England, prudently joins moderation towards those in foreign parts), that when he should arrive in Britain with my Lord Raby (which he supposed would be soon), he would in person inform your Grace in every thing. This gentleman understands our affairs extremely well; and I have let him into all my designs and actions, having had experience both of his candour and his zeal.

"The confused prospect of affairs in Europe seems to require the dispatch of another ambassador from her Majesty, to succeed my Lord Raby at our Court; upon whom, in great measure, will depend the good or bad event of the business in agitation. May he therefore be a man of a religious disposition, as well as discretion in civil affairs; one who will be mindful that he is not only the ambassador of the great Queen Anne, but also the servant of Jesus Christ; and that he is designed to serve the interests and enlarge the kingdoms of both;

one who may adorn his external character by the virtues of his mind, and by both these secure his interest and reputation with the King and his ministers, and make use of both for the service of the Church. . . . . But whither does my zeal for God and his glory carry me! that I should launch out thus boldly, when my meaning is only to express my desires for the advancement of religion. I hope your Grace will pardon me, I am sure you will; since you yourself know, by experience, *how strong the love of Christ is which constraineth us.*

"Your Mr. Hales delays too long giving us the pleasure that we expect from him. The public concerns of the Church do not only invite him, but require and demand him. Among the many advantages which we on this side the water hope to reap from his presence, this is a considerable one, and would at this time be very seasonable, viz. that as he understands our language, the German provinces might by his means resound with the English Liturgy, and our natives be brought over by degrees, and be reconciled to what at present seems unusual and strange to them. Farewell, my Lord. Be pleased to continue your Grace's respects to

"Your Lordship's most humble

"And most devoted servant,

"DANIEL ERNESTUS JABLOUSKI."

"*Berlin, April* 28, 1711"

The doctor having drawn up his thoughts freely and fully, as Baron Printz directed him, upon Mr. Bonet's letter to the King of Prussia, and having presented them, as he acquaints the Archbishop in this letter to the baron the day before, had the satisfaction, within a very few days, of receiving the following answer from the baron himself.

"*Charlottenburg, May* 5, 1711.

"Worthy Sir,

"I have not failed to read over, with a very particular attention, and consequently so much greater satisfaction, the reflections you sent me concerning our known affair; and having observed, among other things, that you think a way might be found out (notwithstanding the prejudices and inveterate opinions, and the many difficulties which it is to be feared might thence arise), to introduce and establish *an approved episcopacy*, in such manner as should give no offence, nor at all weaken or diminish the *jura majestatis circa sacra*, especially in a government entirely sovereign; I do, therefore, instantly desire you by this, that according to your highly laudable zeal for promoting the true welfare of the Protestant religion, you would be so good as to write down, at your leisure, those your thoughts, and communicate,

them to me; which I will not only make use of in such a cautious manner as you desire, that you shall not fear incurring any censure or envy on that account; but will not fail, in proper time and place, to extol the great care and pains you have taken, as being, on many other accounts, with a very particular high esteem and true passion, &c.

"PRINTZEN."

This further request of the baron produced, in two or three days, another treatise from Dr. Jablouski, which he entitled *his project for introducing episcopacy into the King of Prussia's dominions*, and which he presented to the baron, May 7, 1711. Both these discourses were translated from the high Dutch (in which language they were wrote) by Mr. Ayerst, then at the Hague, the translator of the doctor's former treatise prefixed to the version of the Neufchatel liturgy. And as they are equally deserving to be published, are therefore inserted at length in the appendix.

Mr. Ayerst was so kind as to send copies of these versions very early to my Lord of York, and acquainted him in the letter which he sent along with them (bearing date June 9, 1711,) that it was a pity "Mr. Hales was not yet dispatched with the designed character into those

parts; and that he was not then at the Hague; to join with my lord ambassador in soliciting the King of Prussia (who was then at that place) on that affair. One good effect (says he), which your Grace's care has already had at Berlin is, that they begin to have a greater respect for the episcopal character; since the doctor tells me, that at the King's coming from thence, the titular Bishop Ursinus was made Vice-President of the Royal Consistory, and keeps the seals in Baron Printz's absence; though, not above two years ago, it was decreed, that none of the clergy were capable of that office. Your Grace will see, by Baron Printz's answer after that he had read the doctor's reflections, that things are in a fair way if they are pursued; and perhaps they might still go on better, if the House of Hanover were applied to in the same affair."

The Archbishop was at this time in Yorkshire, but that he might not omit any service he was capable of doing to advance the design he had undertaken to encourage, he wrote a letter to the new Lord Treasurer, July 21, 1711, wherein he has these words:—

"I would beg leave to put your Lordship in mind of Mr. Hales. He is capable of doing great service towards the promoting that noble design that is now on foot of having episcopacy

and our Liturgy established in Prussia; he being very well known there and in all parts of Germany. I have had several letters from Dr. Jablouski, wherein he earnestly presses that he (Mr. Hales) may be sent abroad for that purpose, under some public character. I could heartily wish that your Lordship would concert and settle this affair with Mr. Secretary St. John's, who is very well apprised of this whole business, and is no stranger to Mr. Hales."

In a few days after he wrote also to Mr. Hales as follows.

"Sir,

"I beg your pardon for not sooner returning you my thanks for Dr. Jablouski's two letters, and for your own. Those of the doctor I have taken copies of, and so send them you back to be translated into English, and laid before her Majesty, if it be thought fit.

"I beg of you, when you next write to that excellent person, that you would present my humble service to him, and beg his pardon, that I have not of a long time writ to him. Indeed I am ashamed of it, but, alas! being at so great a distance from London, I have nothing to communicate to him worthy of his knowledge.

"You may assure him, that while I was at London I took all opportunities of shewing my

zeal for carrying on that noble work that is now in hand in Prussia; that I often spoke to the Queen and Mr. Secretary St. John's about it; that from time to time I got his letters translated, and laid them before the Queen; that likewise I have often pressed, as he desired me, that you might be sent abroad under a public character, to promote the interests of our Church and religion, and the settling episcopacy and a Liturgy in Prussia. And to tell you, by the by, that you may see I do not forget you, having occasion this last month to write to my Lord Treasurer, that I put him in mind of this affair of your's, which I understand had been lately recommended to him by the Prolocutor, and begged that it might have some effect.

"Lastly, I desire you to return my humble thanks to Dr. Jablouski for his two excellent treatises, which I received since I came down from Mr. Ayerst, viz. his *Reflections on Mr. Bonet's Letter to the King of Prussia*, and his *Project for introducing Episcopacy into the King of Prussia's dominions*.

"I assure you, I do exceedingly approve of them, as I must of every thing that comes from that great man.

"But I beg your pardon for giving you this

trouble. I will add no more, but that I am, with sincere respect and esteem, Sir,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"Jo. Ebor."

Mr. Ayerst, in his letter of June 9, 1711, lately quoted, had intimated, that the design in Prussia would be much forwarded, *if the House of Hanover were applied to in the same affair.* He had first moved and suggested the same to Dr. Jablouski and Monsieur Leibnitz*, who both indeed seemed to approve of the thing, though doubtful as to the success of it. However, Mr. Leibnitz undertook to sound the inclinations of the Court of Hanover towards it. And in a very short time he enabled Mr. Ayerst

* Extract of Jablouski's letter to Mr. Ayerst, of 5th May, 1711. "Quas Leibnitsia destinaveras ipse ei in manus tradidi. Responsum ejus habes geminum iis quæ de inventu tuo confabulati sumus. Confecta res videri posset, nisi Electrix vidua, expensarum pertæsa, spei autem pro suâ personâ exors, expensas una cum spe in filium devolveret."

Mr. Leibnitz's letter was in these words.

"Monsieur, Je trouve votre pensée tres raisonable mais avant mon retour a Hanover, je ne sauray dire, si elle pourra avoir de success. Et M. Jablouski predicateur du Roy, qui m'a fait l'honneur de me rendre votre lettre est du mesne sentiment. Quand je seray donc de retour a Hanover, je prendrai mon temps pour sonder les sentimens la dessus. Je menageray la chose aussi de la sorte qu'elle ne puisse point eclater avant le temps. Je suis, &c. Leibnitz." Berlin, ce 8 de May, 1711.

then at the Hague, to tell the Archbishop of York, in his letter, July 1, 1711, N. S. *That he was assured, by good hands from Hanover, that if her Majesty would allow a pension for a chaplain of the Church of England to attend the Princess Sophia, it would be very acceptable there.* And Dr. Smaldridge, through whose hands Mr. Ayerst transmitted this letter, added, as from himself, "that it would certainly be of great service to our Church, *that our Liturgy should be used at the Court of Hanover.* And since there is (says he) so good a disposition towards it, I hope, by your Grace's influence, it may be compassed. If that design should succeed, Mr. Ayerst seems to have a very good right to officiate as chaplain. He has given sufficient proofs of his prudence and good affection to the Church; and being well known there, would, I doubt not, be very acceptable to Madam and the Electress."

The connecting these two designs together, was looked upon as a probable means of bringing both to a good issue. For a stricter union between the Courts of Prussia and Hanover was entered into by the marriage of the Prince Royal; and it was not without grounds judged conducive, as well to the interests of the House of Hanover, *in relation to the succession in England,* as to the furtherance of the Prussian pro-

ject, to introduce the Liturgy of the Church of England first of all at Hanover. Of this opinion were the Archbishop of York in England, Mr. Leibnitz at Hanover, and Dr. Jablouski at Berlin; the three principals engaged in the design, and holding a correspondence upon it, through the hands of Mr. Ayerst, who, as is said before, first projected or formed it. The Archbishop's letters upon this subject cannot be retrieved; and of those which were wrote by Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Jablouski, only a small number remain, those written to Mr. Ayerst at the Hague and at Utrecht; and which he chanced to preserve, though he had twice the misfortune to lose the greatest part of his papers*.

Out of Monsieur Leibnitz's letter to Mr.

* Extract out of Dr. Jablouski's letter to Mr. A., 15th August, 1711. "Accepi novissimas tuas, 4 Augusti scriptas unas cum inclusis *a Rssimo Archiepiscopo* et D. D. Smaldridge, quæ quod gaudio haud mediocri me affecerent facile ipse conjecis. 17 Sept. 1712. Nuper etiam epistolam accepi *a Rssimo Dom. Archiepiscopo Eboracensi.* Mittam vero ad Te. V. R. Respondum teque orabo, ut ad Rdum patrem illud promovere dignesis. 22 Aug. 1711. Negotium simul Hannoveranum quod reveru rebus nostris pondus haud leve additurum videtur pro virili urgebo. 8 Sept. 1711. In iis quæ Rmo Dono Episcopo Bristoliens: inscriptæ sunt (sc. litteræ) negotium Hannoveranum iis argumentis quæ et tute mihi suppeditasti et sana ratio dictat urgeo." See also the letters in the Appendix.

Ayerst one large quotation has been made above, as a testimony of the *Archbishop's readiness to serve the interests of the house of Hanover*, as well as promote the honour of the Church of England. Here follow a passage or two more to show what opinion Mr. Leibnitz himself had both of the Prussian and Hanover affair. In his letter of June 28th, 1711, having mentioned the inclination the Electress had to form a Church according to the usage of the Liturgy of England, he proceeds * "Monsieur l'Arche-

* Thus Englished—"*The Archbishop of York* and the *Bishop of Bristol* would do a considerable service to the Church and State if they any ways contribute to it, as you tell me they have had some thoughts of doing. And as the *Elector of Brunswick* is now the first prince of the empire *of the Confession of Augsburgh*, it will be a means of uniting the two Churches the more closely. I had the honour one day to talk pretty freely with *the Elector on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, and he very well comprehended that they come much to the same with what is believed in this country.

"They are a little too much *Geneva stamp at Berlin*; yet, since the King himself, the Bishop Ursinus, and Dr. Jablouski are inclined to the Church of England, and I know are entered into some correspondence about it, I hope that it will one day come to something in spite of some rigorists that oppose it. *Mr. Ursinus* and *Mr. Jablouski* did once confer with me on these matters by order of the King, and likewise by my means with some of our divines, who made some considerable progress in this affair. The then English Envoy, *Mr. Cresset*, did likewise enter into it, and I have still some of the letters which he wrote to me on that subject, as likewise the correspondence of

vêque de York et Monsieur l'Evêque de Bristol rendront un service considerable a l'Eglise et meme a l'Etat, s'ils y contribuent comme vous me le mandes. Et comme *Monseigneur l'Electeur de Bronswic* est maintenant le primier Prince de l'Empire de la *Confession d'Augsbourg*, ce sera un moyen de rendre ces deux Eglises plus unies. J'ay eu l'honneur de parler amplement un jour à *Monseigneur l'Electeur sur les* 39 Articles de l'Eglise Anglicane; et il a fort bien compris qu'ils reviennent aux sentimens recens dans ce pays cy. On est un peu trop *Genevois a Berlin*; cependant comme le Roy meme Monsieur l'Eveque Ursinus et Monsieur Jablouski sont assès portes pour *l'Egiise Anglicane*, et que Je

our divines, which may one day be of service. It would not be amiss that the *Lord Archbishop of York* and the *Bishop of Bristol* were informed of it: when the latter passed this way he made but a very short stay, otherwise I should have been extremely glad to have shewn them all to him, and have talked with him on the measures that were proper to be taken.

" I hope the *Archbishop of York* has received a copy of my book *Upon the Liberty of Man*, and other matters pertaining to that subject, which *Mr. Bothmar* carried with him into England. I could wish to have some time his opinion of it. I once saw a printed Sermon * of that prelate which was something to my purpose; but I could not find it among Madam the Electress's papers, where I had seen it."

* This was his Grace's Sermon on the Government of the Thoughts given to the Princess Sophia by Mr. Toland.

scay qu'on est entrè en quelque correspondence la dessus, j'espere qu'on en tirera un jour quelque fruit, malgré quelques rigorists qui s'y opposent. Monsieur Ursinus et Monsieur Jablouski ont communique autrefois avec may sur ces matiere par ordre du Roy, et il y a en quelque commerce et communication la dessus par mon entremise entre nos Theologiens en les leurs où l'on a fait des pars assez considerables. Feu Monsieur l'Envoyé Cresset y entroit, et j'ay encore ses lettres là dessus quîl inecrivoit, aussi bien que les correspondences de nos Theologiens, qui serviront beaucoup un jour. Il sera bon que *Monsieur l'Archvêque de York et Monsieur l'Evêque de Bristol* en ayent information. Quand le dernier passá icy il ne s'arreta pas assés autrement j'aurois ete ravi de lui montrer le tout, et de parler avec lui des mesures a prendre.

" J'espere que *Monsieur l'Archevêque de York* aura secu un des exemplaires de mon livre, sur la Liberte et les matieres voisines, que *Monsieur Bothmar* a porté avec lui en Angleterre; et je souhaite d'en apprendre un jour son sentiment. J'ay ou autrefois un Sermon imprimé de ce Prelat qui revenoit asses au mien: mais ou n'a pas pu le retrouver cher Madame l'Electrice ou il etoit."

And in another letter, dated the 18th of Sep-

tember the same year, and wrote to the same person, he has these words.

" Comme la correspondence entre la cour de la *G. Bretagne,* et celle de *Berlin* a eté renouèe, et que j'apprends que meme *M. de St. Jean, Secretaire d'Etat* en a ecrit, j'espere qu'encore cette affaire aura quelque bonne suite. On a fort estimè icy un livre de *Monsieur Nichols,* ou il montre qu'une bonne correspondence des Eglises Protestants du Continent avec vós Insulaires pourra etre d'un grand effect pour lever les animosités des parties, et j'ay lu autrefois ce livre avec plaisir et avec fruit. Je voudrois pouvoir retrouver un Sermon de *my Lord Archéveque de York* sur la libertè. predestination, et matieres approchantes; qui *Madame l'Electrice* avoit, mais qui s'est perdu *."

* Thus rendered—" Since I hear the correspondence between the Court of Great Britain and that of Berlin has been renewed, and understand that Mr. Secretary St. John's has writ about it, I hope that that affair will still have some good issue. We esteemed very much here a book of Dr. Nichols, in which he shews that a good correspondence between the Protestant churches of the Continent and yours of England might be of great use to extinguish that animosity which is between the two contending parties. I once read that book with pleasure and profit.

" I wish I could find my Lord Archbishop of York's Sermon on the subject of Free Will, Predestination, and the like

But the grand negotiations of state carried on at this time in Holland, and in the respective courts where the design of introducing the English Liturgy was espoused, took off the attention of the great ministers from ecclesiastical affairs, which if duly prosecuted, would have been much to the honour of our Church of England, *and the strengthening the Protestant interest in Europe.* A correspondence was still carried on between the Archbishop and Dr. Jablouski in the years 1712 and 1713. As also between the Doctor and the Earl of Strafford and the Bishop of Bristol then Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht; *into the latter of whose hands several of the original papers relating to this affair were put,* which if ever it be thought proper (by the persons into whose hands that prelate's papers are fallen) to publish to the world, will give great light to this whole transaction, and more fully shew that the persons concerned in it had no other views than the honour of the Church of England and the interest of the Protestant religion in general, joined with that of the Protestant succession to the House of Hanover, from which that interest is inseparable.

Nor was the correspondence altogether with-

matters, which Madam the Electress once had, but is now some way lost."

out success, for though the King of Prussia was grown colder in the main design, yet several steps were made by Baron Printz and the King himself, which shewed still disposition towards it. In particular Dr. Jablouski acquainted the Archbishop, in a letter dated January 14, 1712-13, "that the King of Prussia had been prevailed upon to establish a fund for the education of students in divinity in the English Universities, *legibus fundationis conscriptis*", as his words are "*et redditibus necessariis eidem assignatis.*" And in all probability after this step made, and the great affair of peace being then also concluded, a new life might have been given to these proceedings in both the courts, had not the demise of the King of Prussia within a month after, viz. February 25, 1713, put a stop to them in one, and the death of the Archbishop within the year following, *given a final stroke to them in the other.*

However, the latter before his death had the satisfaction of hearing from Dr. Jablouski, the last letter he received from him, (22nd of April, 1713,) *that the new King of Prussia had confirmed his father's foundation for maintaining students in the Universities of England.* But the Archbishop was then, both by reason of his absence and distance from court, and on account of his declining health, quite disabled from making any new

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